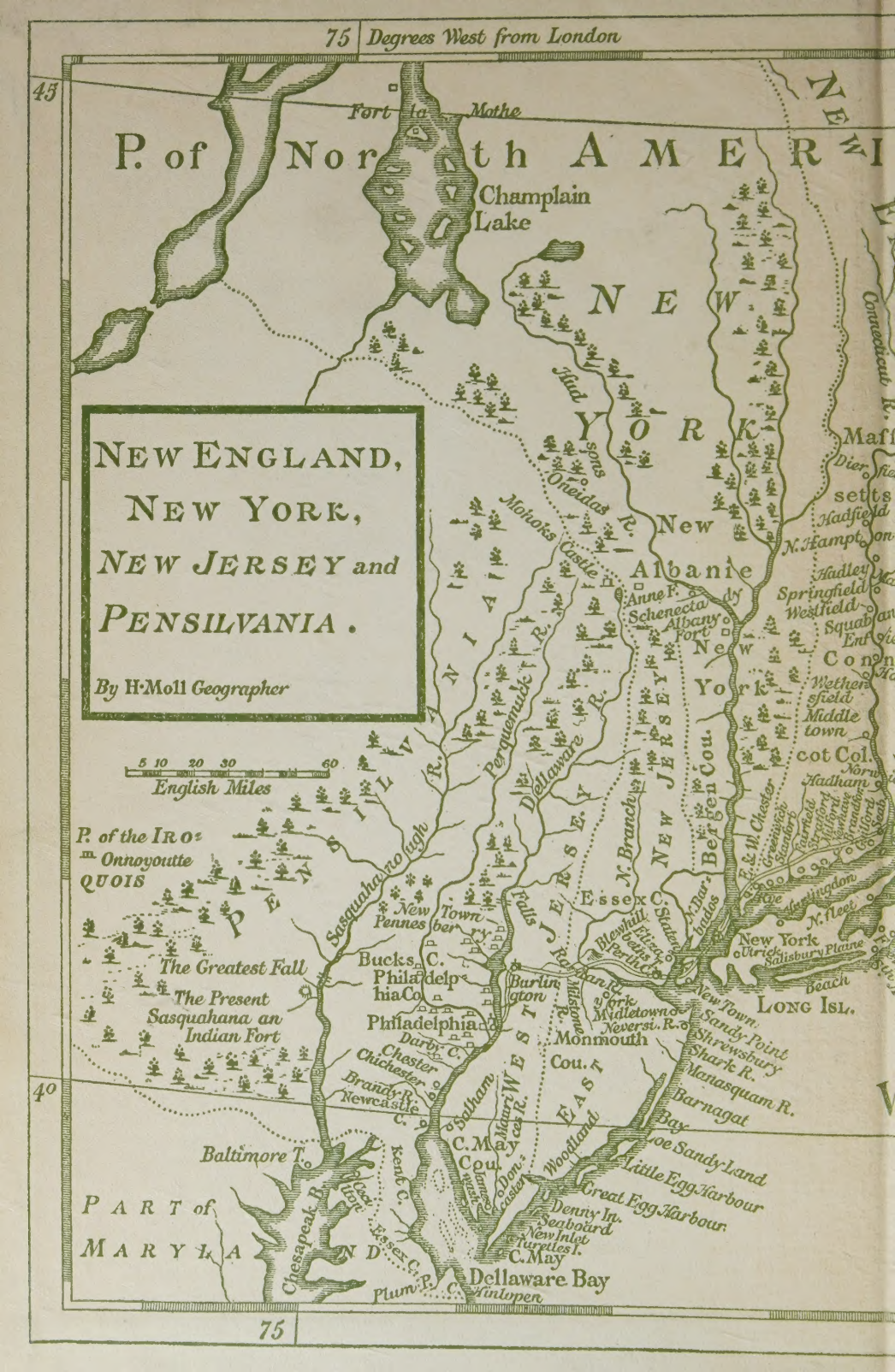
WHEN AMERICA WAS YOUNG

By John T. Faris



NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY and PENSILVANIA.

By H: Moll Geographer

75

An Account of ye Post of ye Continent of Nth America as they were Regulated by ye Postmasters Genl of ye Post House.

The Western Post setts out from Philadelphia every Fryday leaving Letters at Burlington and Pert Amboy and arrives at New York on Sunday night; the distance between Philadelphia and New York being 106 Miles. The Post goes out Eastward every Monday morning from New York, and arrives at Seabrook Thursday noon; being 150 Miles, where the Post from Boston setts out at the same time; the New York Post returning with the Eastern Letters, and the Boston Post with the Western, Bags are dropt at New London, Stommington, Rhode Island, and Bristol. The Post from Boston to Piscataway being 70 Miles leaves Letters at Ipswich, Salem, Marblehead and Newberry. There are offices keept at Burlington, Perth Amboy in New Jersey, New London and Stommington in Connecticott, at Rhode Island, Bristol, Ipswich, Salem, Marblehead and Newberry. and the 3 Great Offices are at Boston, New York & Philadelphia.

See Chapter IX, "Two Centuries of the Post Office"

WHEN AMERICA WAS YOUNG

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THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
(Official Photograph, U. S. Army Air Service)

WHEN AMERICA WAS YOUNG

By JOHN T. FARIS
Author of "The Romance of Forgotten Towns," "Historic Shrines of America," "Real Stories from Our History," Etc.

Profusely Illustrated

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WAS YOUNG

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First Edition

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FOREWORD

THE attempt to forecast with any detail the future of America is perilous. Yet there are those daring enough to attempt the task, though it is certain that the people of the twenty-first century will smile at the predictions made, even as we smile at the words of the would-be seers of the days *When America Was Young.*

For instance, there was the pessimistic word of Gouverneur Morris. Soon after the Revolution he advocated giving up the mouth of the Mississippi to Spain. "What good will it do us?" he asked. "Everybody knows that the rapidity of the current will forever prevent ships from sailing up, however easily they may float down. Now, unless some dragon shall be found whose teeth, sown on the banks of the Ohio, will produce seamen, I know not where else they will be obtained to navigate ships abroad which can never return home."

In time prophets began to pay their respects to the Great Plains that swept westward and upward toward the Rocky Mountains. These, they declared, would probably be inhabited in the future by a hybrid race made up of Indians and fugitives from justice; surely no man could abide there permanently, for in certain seasons of the year there was no food either for the hunter or for his steed. "The herbage was parched and withered; the buffalo, the elk, and the deer wandered to distant parts, leaving behind them a vast solitude." This solitude was thought fit only for the habitation of the "wasting and uncivilized aborigi-

nes," who—General Pike, discoverer of Pike's Peak, was sure—would possess the prairie.

Less than a century ago men would have laughed at the idea of applying to the valley of the Columbia River the term "Inland Empire." There were few who had a good word for the vast area that has since given to the country some of its most fertile land. In 1837 Thomas J. Farnham wrote:

"Above the Columbia there is little worth-while land. The forests are so heavy and so matted as to require the arm of a Hercules to clear a farm of one hundred acres in an ordinary lifetime; and the mass of timber is so great that an attempt to subdue it by girdling would result in the production of another forest before the ground could be disencumbered of what was killed."

Six years later, when Congress was asked to take steps to secure the Oregon Country for the United States, Senator McDuffie declared he would not give a pinch of snuff for the whole Oregon Country. Another Senator was reported as saying:

"We are nearer to the remote nations of Europe than to Oregon."

In 1825 Senator Benton made a declaration that was quoted in Congress as late as 1844:

"The ridge of the Rockies should be forever a national boundary."

But while it is dangerous for us, as it was for the people of generations of the past, to speak too confidently of what the future can or cannot do for America, it is profitable to look backward into our history, noting how the people faced difficulties and conquered obstacles; with what determination they tackled the wilderness and faced the dangers of new lands; what were their fortunes as

they sought to build up civilization from nothing. They may have shown themselves poor prophets. But they were glorious pioneers.

Their pioneering has a message for us. As we become familiar with the achievements of the generations *When America Was Young* it is not sufficient to marvel at the record. We can remember that we should do our part to see that this generation puts like earnestness and devotion into the tasks that press upon us. And earnestness and zeal that measure up to theirs, plus opportunities that are ours largely because of the achievements of devoted men and women of days of long ago, make certain a life richer and broader, a future truer, nobler, more useful. So far it is safe to prophesy.

It is the author's hope that the chapters of *When America Was Young* will give some assistance to those who turn to records of the past as they seek inspiration for the present and hope for the future.

JOHN T. FARIS.

PHILADELPHIA, *May, 1925.*

WHEN AMERICA WAS YOUNG

CHAPTER I

THE CHECKERED STORY OF MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE

ONE of the surprises of the student of the life of the days of the Colonists is the extent of their industry and commerce. It would not seem strange if the men and women who were responsible for the brave attempts at home-making when America was young had shown a degree of helplessness in the face of their many obstacles.

The tale begins very early, in fact almost with the first houses built. If all the stories of those who describe early buildings in the Colonies are to be accepted at face value, brick-making was an art neglected by the early residents in America. "Built of brick brought from England in ballast" is the statement frequently made of some of the early houses. But the probability is that the brick for most of them was burned near by.

In fact, some of the earliest records of the Colonies tell of clay-digging and brick-burning. When Jamestown had but seven hundred people, brick-making was an established industry. In the book *The New Life of Virginia* there is an animated description of the activities of the artificers and workmen who were engaged in preparing houses for the accommodation of the Colonists in a more healthful location than that chosen at the beginning:

"The spademen fell to digging, the brickmen burnt the bricks, the carpenters fell to squaring, the sawyers to sawing, the soldiers to fortifying, and every man to somewhat.

Other Colonies emulated Virginia. Everywhere bricks were made, as one of the first industries attempted.

It is remarkable that in some of the Colonies one of the earliest attempts to supply the comforts of the old English homes was the making of glass. Two hundred years later, when men and women thronged over the mountains to carve out homes in the new West, they spoke of the absence of glass as one of their privations. Yet in Jamestown glass was manufactured as early as 1609, while Massachusetts was not far behind the Virginia Colony. New Jersey soon had a glass factory, and Pennsylvania is credited with a number of similar attempts in pioneer days, culminating in the glassworks of Baron Stiegel at Manheim, which turned out such exquisite tableware that collectors to-day vie with one another to secure the specimens discovered in isolated homes.

Power for these early factories was supplied freely by the watercourses. Ingenious builders contrived wheels that forced the streams to grind wheat and corn, and to perform many other tasks. On Manhattan Island windmills were preferred to water wheels, but in most places the streams were harnessed with workmanlike completeness that would cause astonishment to the modern advocates of the utilization of water power, who seem to think that they are giving their thought to the development of a new idea.

Among the first of the mills driven by the accommodating water were those which produced flour from the farmer's grain. Of course, this was used at first only for home consumption; but before long there was a surplus which was sent abroad.

Early records tell of rivalry between Philadelphia and New York over the quality of the flour. In this respect,

at least in 1722, New York was ahead, owing, it was said, to the carelessness of some Pennsylvania shippers. Witness one line in the Philadelphia *American Weekly Mercury* of August 16th in that year. This told of a complaint made by various merchants of Jamaica:

"The Badness of most of the Flour, imported here from Pennsylvania, for some Time past, has been so evident, that not only Cerious Housekeepers, but also the Common Bakers, have entertained such a general Disesteem of all Flour whatever coming from there, that they are with Difficulty persuaded at any time to look upon Pennsylvania Flour; and at this Day the best of that Country is sold at 20*s* per Barrel, in Parcel, and 25*s* Retail, while Choice New-York Flour sells daily at 10*s* per Barrel more.

"Thus the Reputation of a Place once favored for the Best flour in America, is perfectly lost; what Bad Effects it must have on the trade of that Place, as well as the necessity of Redressing its Growers, and restoring credit to that Imperial Province, we offer to the consideration of the Legislators thereof.

"It is here publish'd to deter others from like Evil, an Evil which the Person guilty of are incapable, as Particular Men, to make a suitable or equivalent satisfaction for, it being a vast Loss and Discredit to the Country in general; and they may be justly charged with being the Main cause of our great Decay of Trade, which will scarcely be retrieved in a long time."

In that day Philadelphia hoped to keep ahead of New York in shipping. Yet the figures of the port for 1732, ten years after the appeal to the profiteers who had sent inferior flour, showed that New York had sent out 216 vessels, while Philadelphia could count but 189.

Perhaps an item in the same paper, one week after the giving of the alarming information from Jamaica, showed how one business man was trying to save himself from the inferior Pennsylvania flour:

"We have information of a considerable Merchant here, who is desirous to lay out his ready Money in another Province for their Flour, which he has got by selling his Goods, a Practice which, if followed out, soon ruins all our Trade; and yet who can blame the merchant?"

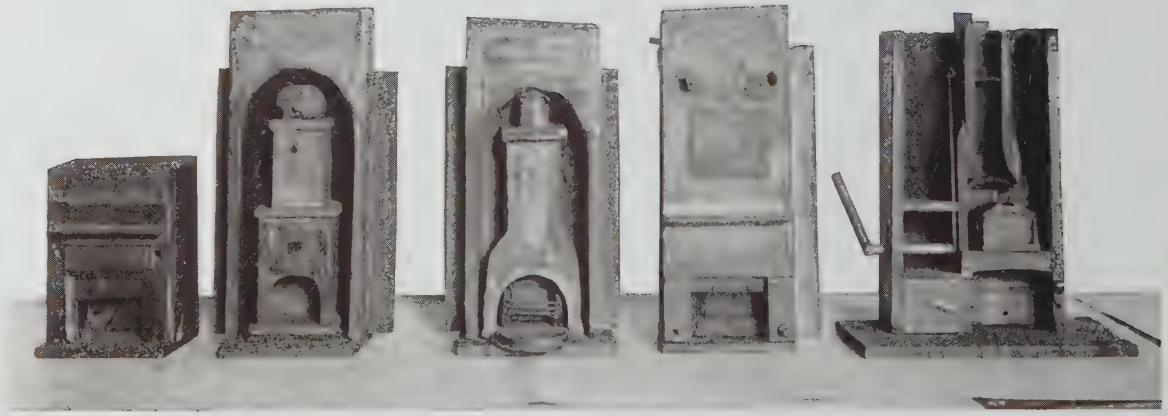
Water mills not only ground the flour; at an early date they made paper. For instance, deep in the wooded depths where tumbles the Wissahickon Creek, near Philadelphia, William Rittenhouse and three associates—among them William Bradford, the printer, and an early postmaster in Philadelphia—built a stone mill where paper was fashioned, probably before 1697. When the first structure was carried away by a flood, William Penn appealed to the people of Pennsylvania to help restore what had proved to be such an important industry.

Not satisfied with his experiment at Philadelphia, Bradford later owned a paper mill at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. This he built in 1728, the year when five men—one of whom bore the distinguished name of Faneuil—received from the General Court of Massachusetts a license to build a paper manufactory. For ten years they were to enjoy the undisputed privilege of making paper for the Colonial trade, on condition that, during the first year, they make at least 150 reams of brown paper and 60 reams of printing-paper. The yearly product was to increase until it became at least 500 reams.

Seven miles from Boston, at Milton, was a paper mill whose proprietors from the beginning had difficulty in securing the necessary helpers for their work. It is

OLD WINDMILL ON THE ISLAND OF NANTUCKET, MASS. (See page 2)

"WHIPSAWING," THE PRIMITIVE METHOD OF MAKING LUMBER (See page 6)



THE "OPEN STOVE" INVENTED BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (See page 12)

related that in 1760 a soldier from a British regiment was permitted to work in the mill, since he was a paper-maker by trade. But his regiment soon went to Canada for service. The application that the soldier might remain behind for the sake of the mill was not acted on favorably. His departure interrupted activities, but these began again before long, as is evident from a curious appeal for raw material contained in the Boston *News Letter* in 1769:

"The bell-cart will go through Boston before the end of next month, to collect rags for the Paper Mill at Milton, when all people that will encourage the Paper Manufactory may dispose of them."

The ruins of another of the pioneer paper mills may be seen by passengers on the branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad that leads from Philadelphia through Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. On the banks of Chester Creek are some of the ivy-covered walls of the structure erected in 1730 by Thomas Willcox. The ivy, which the proprietor brought from England, was the inspiration of one of the earliest watermarks used on American paper, the ivy leaf. Not only was writing paper the product of this mill, but printing-paper for Benjamin Franklin's press in Philadelphia, as well as for some of the competitors of the Pennsylvania sage. In later years hand-made paper was made there for the Continental currency that brought the credit of the Colonies so low.

The mills of Rittenhouse and Willcox had so many successors that the French De Warville, who was one of the early visitors to Philadelphia, remarked with wonder: "There is no town on the continent where so much printing is done as at Philadelphia. Gazettes and book-stores are numerous in the town. and paper-mills in the state." It

is said that at one time Franklin controlled eighteen paper mills in Pennsylvania!

To-day an important part of the paper industry is the making of wall-paper. But for many years there was no wall-paper in the Colonies. In fact, ornamentation of any kind was frowned upon. The austere Puritans seemed to think that even paint was sinful. As late as 1639 a Massachusetts minister was called to account because his house had been painted. He answered his accusers that he did not hold with such frivolity; he regretted that a previous owner of the house had been so foolish as to encumber it with the unnecessary covering.

But as the years passed, paint gradually won its way, first to toleration, then to approval. In 1780 paint on a house was counted not only a luxury, but, by many, a necessity. And, in many instances, paint on the outside was accompanied by paper on the inside walls. In some of the houses that have been built for more than a century, specimens of the early wall-paper makers' art are carefully preserved and proudly displayed. The paper did not come in rolls, but in small sheets, hundreds of these being necessary to adorn even a small room. The designs on these early wall-papers are, frequently, beautiful; they are always odd.

In those days no one thought of making paper from wood. The bountiful forests were used for other purposes. Except for the white-pine trees more than twenty-four inches in diameter, which were reserved for public use by a law of 1668 enforced by Massachusetts, and the white pine set apart for the royal navy by the edicts of William III and Queen Anne, the Colonists felt free to cut timber for their own convenience, and for manufacture in various forms. Sawmills were among the ear-

liest of the crude contrivances of the pioneers. Records of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, tell of a mill near by as early as 1638, while other localities had neighborhood lumber manufactories. With the passing years the sawmills increased in number rapidly. In a single county in Massachusetts there were ninety such establishments in 1793, while a little later the state boasted one hundred and fifty. Much of the products of these mills found their way to the West Indies.

But the forest products that became an item of moment in the receipts of the Colonists did not all come from the mills. On hundreds and thousands of farms it was the practice, during the winter months, to fashion staves, heading, hoops, shingles, and clapboards, for barter and sale. Even in 1731, it has been estimated, £15,000 worth of lumber was sent in tobacco ships from Virginia to England, while forty years later the lumber exports from the Colonies were valued at £154,637.

Of course, lumbering was a natural industry to people who lived in the midst of the forests. But an activity of an unexpected sort, begun comparatively early, was the casting of type for the printers and publishers who made Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other centers their headquarters. Christopher Sower, who won fame by printing the first Bible to come from the press in America, had a type foundry in Philadelphia in 1740, while similar establishments were started elsewhere.

One of the type founders was Abel Buell, a young man of Connecticut, whose checkered history adds interest to his commercial activity. When a youth he was an apprentice in the establishment of a goldsmith and silversmith. He was not yet twenty years old when he was suspected of counterfeiting. An official who stood on a ladder and

looked at him through a window of his workroom, saw him in the act of raising a five-shilling note to a five-pound note. He was convicted, and his forehead branded with a letter C, in accordance with the barbarous law of the day. While in prison his mechanical ingenuity attracted the attention of the king's attorney, who secured for him a pardon.

In 1770 Buell engraved and published the first map made in America, and during the Revolution his money-making abilities were turned to good account by a commission that enabled him to coin coppers for the use of the people. He invented a machine which succeeded in turning out twelve hundred coins an hour. Later he went to Great Britain, where he observed the cotton-milling industry. On his return he erected what has been said to be the first cotton factory in America. The factory failed soon after its beginning. And the proprietor himself died a failure; his last days were spent in an almshouse.

But the type-foundry incident which has helped to keep alive the name of Abel Buell dates from before the Revolution. On October 3, 1769, he printed a petition "To the Honourable the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut." Evidently he was familiar with the law of 1672, which provided: "That if any person or persons shall set themselves on work to discover any Commodities, that may be of use for the Country, for the bringing in a supply of food from forreign ports, that is not as yet of use amongst us, he that discovers it shall have due encouragement granted to him, and the adventurers therein."

According to the original petition, which is preserved in the Connecticut State Library, Buell's oddly worded request to the Connecticut General Assembly read:

"This Memorial of Abel Buell of Killingworth Himself

sheweth That ye Memorialist having Experienced the Great Goodness of the Honorable Assembly, for which he Begs leave to tender his Most Grateful Tribute of thanks, and to Assure them from a Grateful Sense of their Clemency he has made it his unwearied Study to render himself useful to the Community in which he lives and the American Colonies in general; and by his unwearied applications for a number of months past he has Discover'd the Art of Letter-Founding and as a Specimen of his abilities Presents this Memorial Impress'd with the Types of his Own Manufacture, and whereas by an Antient Law of the Colony, the Assembly was Graciously Pleased to Enact that any one who shall make any useful Discoveries should Receive an Encouragement therefor from the Honorable Assembly; and as the Manufacture of Types is but in Few hands even in Europe, he humbly Conceives it to be a most Valuable Addition to the American Manufactures, and as the Expense of erecting a Proper Foundry will be Great beyond all the abilities of your Memorialist, he humbly hopes for Encouragement from the Assembly Either by Granting him the Liberty of a Lottery for Raising a Sum Sufficient to enable him to carry on the same, or in some other way as to the Honorable Assembly seems fit; and your Memorialist as in duty Bound shall ever Pray."

In some way the funds were secured and the penitent ex-convict became one of the first American type-founders, his establishment preceding by five years the foundry established by Benjamin Franklin, who in 1775 brought from France the materials for his industry.

Long before the age of the type foundries, the manufacture of hemp, flax, and wool was a recognized industry. For many years, however, it was carried on on the farms

and in the homes of the people, rather than in factories. The importance of such home industries was appreciated by the selectmen of a Massachusetts town, who, in 1640, ordered that all the children should be taught to make clothing of wild hemp and flax. They even encouraged production by offering for a time a premium of 25 per cent on all such products.

When, five years later, it became apparent that a local supply of wool was needed, the legislature of the Colony made it very easy for the ambitious to import sheep for breeding, and to sow hemp and flax, that the wild varieties might be supplemented. Some years afterward there was a curious sequel: the town crier was instructed to announce, by tap of drum, that the privilege of keeping sheep on the common belonged to any citizen. At the same time it was forbidden to export sheep, or to kill a sheep under two years of age for any purpose but for family food, and orders were given to hang a dog caught killing sheep.

A branch of the clothing industry was the making of felt hats, for which the beaver traps on a thousand streams supplied material. This activity soon became an important part of the industrial life of many communities, and the income derived from the hat manufactories was by no means negligible.

On July 3, 1729, the *Mercury* made an announcement that gives a hint as to the hatmaking industry:

"We the Commission for Receiving and Distributing the Goods saved from on board the Wreck'd Ship *Rachel,* Laborious Pearce, Master, Do hereby give Notice, That pursuant to the Direction of the said commission, a Parcel of Felt Hats, and sundry other goods remaining in our Custody, for which no Claimer does appear, will be ex-

posed for Sale by Publick Vendue, . . . at the Court House at Philadelphia."

It would have been strange if, when hats and clothing were being provided, shoes should have been forgotten. The first real shoe factories date from the middle of the eighteenth century, when Lynn, Massachusetts, began to assume the prominence in the shoe trade that has been hers ever since. It was said in 1764 that shoes for women made in Lynn were stronger and handsomer than any imported from London.

The Colonists' greatest need for shoes came during the Revolution; but it proved impossible to supply the demand. There was plenty of leather, but the necessary labor could not be commanded.

Yet within seven years after the close of the Revolution, Lynn manufacturers were exporting annually 100,000 pairs of women's shoes!

Perhaps the most ambitious and one of the most far-reaching industries in the Colonies was the making of iron. In 1619 the resourceful men of Jamestown Colony were making bog ore into many necessary contrivances, and their infant activity continued until 1622, when the Indians fell on the village where the iron was manufactured and killed several hundred people who lived there. Then there was nothing to do but begin over again—and that was an art in which the settlers of America early became proficient.

The example of Virginia was followed by other Colonies, until furnaces fed by supplies near at hand were constructed all along the Atlantic coast and as far inland as Lebanon, Pennsylvania. In New Haven ironworkers were busy soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century; it is recorded that in 1716 the legislature granted a fifteen-

year monopoly to a slitting mill. This supplemented the crude work of the men on the farms who spent many of their long winter days at their primitive forges. In the northwest corner of the state ore was extracted in many places, and furnaces were built. In 1762, in a blast furnace that had been active for many years, Ethan Allen, who later won fame at Ticonderoga, was a workman. Before the Revolution this furnace was supplying shot and shell to the British troops.

At a number of other places furnaces were followed by slitting and rolling mills, and by ingenious contrivances for manufacturing the iron into various articles of commerce for use, first at home, then for export to England. The daring of the manufacturers received quick rebuke, but the rebuke was not given with sufficient efficiency to curb the genius of the Colonial iron-makers.

Perhaps the best known example of early American ingenuity that could not be curbed by Great Britain was the invention, in 1742, by Benjamin Franklin, of an open stove for the better warming of a room, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering. He refused an offered patent, for reasons stated in his Autobiography: "As we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously."

The inventor's generosity led him to describe the fireplace in a pamphlet, issued for the benefit of his countrymen. But a copy fell into the hands of a London artificer, who proceeded to make a fireplace like Franklin's, though, of course, with some small changes. He secured a patent and won a fortune.

But neither the piracy of foreign ironmongers nor the

THE OLD QUEENSBORO FURNACE, NEAR WEST POINT, NEW YORK
(Where cannon were made for Washington's Army) (See page 13)

THE LOG CABIN OF A PIONEER (See page 24)

jealousy of the Mother Country was sufficient to put a stop to American ingenuity. When the break with England came the Connecticut furnace that supplied iron for British ammunition was turned to Colonial use. The sum £1,450 was expended in refitting the furnace, where fifty men soon were employed in turning out cannon as large as 32-pounders. In fact, at the outbreak of the war iron mines, furnaces, and mills were in numbers adequate to make possible the casting of the necessary war supplies. From a furnace not far from what became the site of West Point came much metal for the needs of the army. And the fires of many furnaces glowed by day and by night, often far in forest depths, that they might make possible the production of guns and swords, of cannon and ball. The ability of these despised Colonists amazed some among the British. More than once the dreary days of suffering were cheered for the poverty-stricken troops by the bit of dry humor of the man who retorted to the British officer who asked, "Where did you get your cannon?" "We made them," came the quick reply. "But where did you get your patterns?" "From Burgoyne at Saratoga!"

There were no more questions that day!

Many obstacles had to be overcome by those who sought to develop manufactures and commerce in the days of dependence on Great Britain. Some of these were due to home conditions—for instance, the vexing, ever-present currency question that arose when provincial boundaries were crossed. The character of this difficulty is well illustrated by an item from the *Mercury* of April 2, 1730. One hundred and seventeen merchants of Philadelphia, whose names were signed to the document, agreed that after the 10th day of January they would receive in pay-

ment of any accounts, one-fourth in currency of the Lower Counties upon Delaware, and they promised to do all in their power to abolish all distinction between the said currency and that of the Province of Pennsylvania. Promise was also made by the Trustees of the General Loan office of Pennsylvania to receive the said Lower County Bills of credit of all borrowers for payments in the Loan Office, not exceeding one-fourth part of the annual quotas to be paid in.

Of course it was found that resolutions did not solve the difficulty that interfered with free trade; that apparently could be solved only by a uniform currency.

But the greatest obstacle in the way of Colonial commerce and manufacture, came not from within, but from without, in consequence of the feeling that the Colonies should trade with England only to such an extent as proved profitable to the Mother Country; that when profits made by the Colonies were even thought to be at the expense of England, laws should make this continued interference impossible. This doctrine was put forth in clearest manner by a book published in London in 1736, *The National Merchant,* whose theme was "the Reasonableness and Practicability of our American Colonies Answering all our Wants." This curious document called attention to the fact that "the Manufactures, Trade, and Navigation of some of our Plantations do, or may interfere with the Interests of this Kingdom, and in time may prove very prejudicial to it, if not irremediable." Further, it was stated, "That, indeed, Colonies are a Strength to the Mother Country, while they are under Good Discipline, while they are strictly made to observe the Laws of their original Country, and while they are kept dependent on it; but that otherwise they are worse than members lop'd

from the Body Politick, being like offensive Arms, wrested from a Nation to be turned against it, as occasion should serve."

While it was argued that regulation should be made in such a way that the trade of the Colonies would minister to the "use and Benefits of the whole Body Politick," it was understood that the ministry should be to the good "especially of Great Britain, their Head, Mother, and Protectress."

Lest the Colonies grow so powerful as to be able to throw off their dependency, it was suggested: "That Great Britain keep to herself as much as possible, all Parts of Trade and Navigation, and also the Manufacturing and Improving of Every Commodity . . . that the Colonies be usefully employed in raising Materials for the Manufactories, Commodities for our trade, and Naval Stores for our Shipping."

In 1699—a generation before the issue of the sapient *National Merchant*—Parliament actually instituted a Commission of Trade and Plantations, which was "charged to see that the Colonies in no way interfered with the sacred rights of British commerce and manufactures." It was a part of the plan that Provincial Governors should make to the Commission periodical reports of the state of trade in the Colonies; that the way might be plain for the application of laws of repression, suppression, and limitation.

Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, was not averse to obeying directions. In 1705 he wrote to the Commission: "I am well informed that upon Long Island and Connecticut, they are setting up a woolen manufacturie, for I Myself have seen Serge made up on Long Island that any man may wear. I hope I may be pardoned if I

declare my opinion to be that all the Colloneys which are but twigs belonging to the same Tree (England) ought to be kept entirely dependent upon and subservient to England, and that can never be, if they are suffered to goe on in the notion they have, that, as they are Englishmen, soe they may set up the same Manufactures here as people may do in England, for the Consequence will be, if they see that they can cloathe themselves, not only comfortably, but handsomely too, without the help of England, they, who are already not very fond of submitting to government, would soon think of putting into execution designs they had long harboured in their hearts."

Six years before the date of Lord Cornbury's advice, the English woolen manufacturers sent in a memorial to the Board of Trade, stating that the wool and woolen manufacturers of Ireland and the North American plantations began to be exporters to foreign markets formerly supplied by England. The result was an Act of Parliament declaring that, "after Dec. 1, 1699, no wool, worsteds, yarn, cloth or woolen manufactures of the English plantations in America, should be shipped . . . in order to be transported to any place whatsoever." The penalty provided was the forfeiture of the ship and the cargo, as well as a fine of £500 for each offense.

The example of the manufacturers of woolens was followed by representatives of other industries. In February, 1731, the Company of Feltmakers asked Parliament to prohibit the exportation of hats from the American Colonies, since New York and New England were manufacturing ten thousand beaver hats each year, while Boston alone had sixteen hatters, of whom one had an output of two thousand hats annually. The headgear was being exported to the Southern Plantations, to the West Indies,

and even to Ireland to the great detriment of legitimate English trade.

The petition was successful, and London hat-makers rejoiced in an Act that provided:

"No hats or felts, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be put on board any vessel in any plantation within any of the British plantations; nor be laden on any horse, or other Carriage to the intent to be exported from thence to other plantations, or to any other places whatever." The penalties corresponded to those in the Act directed against the exportation of woolens.

When the English sugar planters in Barbadoes demanded that the lucrative trade of the New England Colonies to the West Indies—trade in grain, fish, lumber, horses, mules, and cattle—should be curbed, this demand also was heeded.

But there were protests in England against these attempts to restrain the freedom of the Colonies. A London publisher, in 1731, issued a volume, *Remarks upon a Book, Entitled, The Present State of the Sugar Colonies Considered.* The author began by saying: "We still continue to restrain our own people from enlarging and extending our own Trade, while other nations are using all the means they apprehend to be in their Power to extend and enlarge theirs." Then he proceeded to show the folly of thinking that the prosperity of England could be advanced by such acts of repression. The original volume brought down on the devoted head of the author another tirade. This was called "A Short Answer to an Elaborate Pamphlet Entitled The Importance of the Sugar Plantations, &c. Composed of Many Words, Much Malice, Very little Argument, and Abundance of False Reasoning. Showing that the Bill now depending for Prohibiting the Commerce

Carried on between our Northern Colonies and the Foreign Sugar Plantations, tends to the impoverishing and ruin of these Colonies; the wrecking of the Power of the English Empire; and Danger and Loss to Great Britain; and would put it in the power of our Sugar Plantations to make us pay them what Price they please for their Sugar."

A few years later another author who dared to disagree with Parliament wrote a book, "Tending to Show How the Trade and Interest of the Colonials are Interwoven with the Interest of Great Britain, and that the Traffick, Wealth, and Strength of the whole British Empire may thereby be greatly increased."

An example of the contrary argument was given in 1731, when a pamphleteer noted "that at or near Boston are made Camlets, Hats, Linens, and some ordinary woollen Cloathes, and Iron, as Nails, Carpenters' Tools, &c and if the people are suffered to go on, they will have no occasion to send to Great Britain for this sort of Tools, and if a Stop was put to the Trade with the French, the People of New England, and some other of the Northern Colonies, would apply themselves to improving their Lands, by reason of Hemp, Flax and other Naval Stores."

However, the sane arguments of those who wished to give the Colonies the privilege of free trade were ineffective. About the middle of the eighteenth century the outcry of the iron manufacturers of England procured a law making illegal trip hammers, slitting mills, or rolling mills. The gracious permission was given to send to Great Britain pig iron and bar iron, that this raw material might be fashioned into goods, these to be shipped to the Colonies and sold for home profit. Thus, it was hoped,

there would be an end to the attempt of the Colonial manufacturer of iron products to "take the bread in effect out of the mouths of several thousand British families, and give it to barbarous Herds of Creoles and Niggroes," who live in "countries which in time to come will have no more regard to Great Britain, than we now have for the Native Places of our Saxon Ancestors."

A few years later came the Stamp Act, which stirred up such just opposition in the Colonies. In 1766 a Parliamentary Committee, while examining Benjamin Franklin with reference to the Act and its operation, asked him questions which showed the attitude to America of those who were then in power, while the replies revealed just as clearly the spirit of the men of the Colonies, who refused to be curbed by Acts of Parliament.

For instance, Franklin was asked if the Colonies would not suffer through refusal to import clothes. "Don't you think clothes from England absolutely necessary?" "By no means," came the reply. "With industry and good management, they may very well supply themselves with all they want."

Then came a query as to the length of time required for beginning the manufacture of clothing. Would it not be too long? "I think not," was the careful answer. "They have made a surprising progress already. And I am of opinion, that before their old clothes were worn out, they would have new ones of their own making."

Asked if there could be found wool enough in America, Franklin said that the steps taken to increase the supply would make possible the necessary manufacture within three years.

Franklin declared that to indulge in the fashions and

manufactures of Great Britain used to be the pride of America, but that ambitions had changed: the pride of the people there was "to wear the old clothes over again, till they can make new ones."

After reading the story of attempts as described to suppress and confine trade and manufacture during nearly a century, it is diverting to find in English official documents an instance of a spirited refusal to allow English producers to share in the emoluments of what was proving a lucrative industry in the southern Colonies.

This document—a Proclamation of the King, dated December 10, 1619—began:

"It is not unknown what dislik Wee have ever had of the use of Tobacco, as tending to a general and new Corruption, both of Men's bodies and manners; Nevertheless it is of the two, more tolerable that the same should be imported amongst many other vanities and superficialities, which come from beyond the Sea, then permitted to be planted here within this Realm, thereby to abuse and misimploy the soile of this fruitfull Kingdom."

It was then recited that, for a time, the raising of tobacco had been prohibited within a certain distance of London. "But entering into further consideration of the manifold inconveniences of suffering this nourishment of vice (and nothing else) on a noysome Weede to multiply and everspread within our Kingdom, Wee are resolved upon many and weightier reasons of Steat to make the said Prohibition Generall."

Among the reasons given for the action were these: Use was becoming promiscuous; not so good tobacco could be raised in England; the Plantations received "Much Comfort from the Importation (which it is to be respected

at least in the Interim, untill Our Said Colonies may grow to yield better and more solide Commodities)"; production in England "doeth manifestly tend to the diminution of Our Customes, which is a thing, that although in case of good Manufacture and Necessary Commodities, we doe little esteem, Yet when it shall be taken from Us, and no good but rather hurt redound to Our People, Wee have reason," etc.

But the day came when a period was put to the making of all decrees against manufacture, industry and commerce, except as the decree was made by the action of the States which succeeded the Colonies. And when the smoke of the battles that settled so many difficulties rolled away, American industry began to develop by leaps and bounds.

There was temporary interruption to progress, like the Embargo Act of 1807, when scores of vessels were tied up for months in protest against Great Britain's insistence on the right of search; but on the whole progress was so rapid that before many decades results interested the world.

In December, 1791, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, reported to Congress, by request, concerning the state of the infant country's manufactures. After a careful and well-reasoned appeal for the extension of manufactures in the United States—an extension deemed by some leaders of questionable value—he showed what should be done with "copper, lead, fossil coal, wool, skins, grain, flax and hemp, cotton, wood, silk, glass, gunpowder, paper, printed books, and refined sugar and chocolate." Thus he told the tale of the industries of the day.

What a task would belong to-day—not to the Secretary of the Treasury, but to the Secretary of Commerce, if

you please—if the attempt were made to list all manufactures! The modest little pamphlet of 1792, which could be studied in two minutes, would give place to a small library, and even a hasty reading would call for days, or even weeks.

AN OLD DUTCH HOUSE IN NEW CASTLE, DELAWARE
(Probable date about 1650)

THE JEREMIAH LEE HOUSE, MARBLEHEAD, MASS. (See page 32)

CHAPTER II

GLIMPSES OF HOUSES AND HOME LIFE

WHEN the first immigrants landed they counted themselves fortunate to find any shelter. An overhanging rock was a boon, and a cave was luxury. The bank of a creek or river sometimes was utilized for an artificial cave, or for a cave house, which extended back into the interior, and had a rude exterior, roofed with branches of trees, out toward the stream.

When something more ambitious was possible, it was often customary to plant in the ground two upright poles, forked at the top. From one fork to the other a ridgepole was stretched. Then, on three sides, saplings were placed, leaning from the ridgepole to the ground. On the fourth side it was easy to stretch a blanket or—lacking this—the robes of wild beasts from the forest. No floors were needed: what could be more efficient than packed earth?

As pioneers moved back into the wilderness, they repeated such primitive beginnings. A good example of the structures with which they had to be satisfied was the house near Gallipolis, in which, for many years, lived Ann Bailey, a famous character of the early days of Ohio. One who visited her in her old age—the tradition is that she was 125 years old when she died—has told of this cabin:

"She built it of fence rails, which lapped at the corners. It was more like a shed, had one door, and a single window, a small four-pane affair. The roof was made

without nails, of black oak clapboards, perhaps four feet long, held to their place by weight poles. The chimney was outside, four feet high. The fireplace would take a stick four or five feet long. The interstices of the cabin were stuffed with stone and old rags, and daubed with mud."

When F. A. Michaux visited America he was much impressed by the curious houses. Once he wrote:

"In the United States they give often the name of town to a group of seven or eight houses. . . . The mode of constructing them is not the same everywhere. At Philadelphia the houses are built of brick."

Now note how the French traveler described with meticulous care the familiar log cabin, specimens of which may still be seen in many parts of the country:

"In the other towns and country places that surround this, the half, and frequently the whole, is built with wood, but at places within seventy or eighty miles of the sea, in the central and southern states, and again more particularly in houses situated to the westward of the Allegheny Mountains, one-third of the inhabitants reside in log houses. These dwellings are made with the trunks of trees, from twenty to thirty feet in length, about five inches in diameter, placed one upon another, and kept up by notches cut at the extremities. The roof is formed with pieces of similar length to those that compose the body of the house, but not quite so thick, and gradually sloped on each side. Two doors which often supply the place of windows, are made by sawing away a part of the trunks that form the body of the house; the chimney, always placed at one of the extremities, is likewise made with the trunks of trees of a suitable length; the back of the chimney is made of clay, about six inches thick, which

separates the fire from the wooden wall. The space between the trunks of trees is filled up with clay, but so very carelessly that the light may be seen through in every part, in consequence of which the huts are exceedingly cold in winter, notwithstanding the amazing quantity of wood that is used. The doors move upon wooden hinges, and the greater part of the time have no locks. In the nighttime they only push them to and fasten them with a wooden peg. Four or five days are sufficient for two men to finish one of these houses, in which not a nail is used."

Frequently neighbors helped each other, and so were able to put up a primitive house in much less time.

It is of interest to note that an emigrant from Scotland to Pennsylvania in 1773 told of the log cabin much more briefly. He said that his house of six rooms, with two stories, was "built of square blocks of wood, worked or indented in one another." This specimen of fine architecture was much better than the houses of many of the neighbors, for it was "well plastered," so that it was "warm enough."

Down in South Carolina the early builders of the primitive houses used pine boards, riven by the broad-ax, instead of logs. When William Logan, traveler from Philadelphia, in 1748, saw them, he marveled at the fact that they "are in generall tarred all over to preserve them, instead of Painting." He also spoke of the fact that "all have wooden chimneys which I admire do not catch fire oftener than they do."

These dwellers in South Carolina would have understood the words as to the method of lighting such houses, as written by one of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts in 1642, when white pine was the dependence of the people. "Out of this Pine is gotten the candle-wood that is so

much spoken of, which may serve as a shift among the poorer folks; but I cannot commend it for regular good, because it droppeth a pitchy kind of substance where it stands." It is not strange, then, that when the first crude lamps were introduced among the Pilgrims, about 1680, they received a warm welcome.

Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet* in 1775 advertised for sale a New Jersey house similar to those described by Michaux as long common west of the mountains. The advertisement described the property as "a good log house, with lentils on each side. . . . The house is 25 feet in length and 24 in breadth, divided into four tenements, each with two rooms and a fireplace in each room; the lentils are each of them about 14 feet in breadth and 24 in length, with a weaver's shop joined to one of them of the same length and about eleven feet in breadth; both lentils hath a fireplace."

Perhaps the most pleasing description of the building of a pioneer house to be found in the records of the experience of the hardy men and women who carved homes out of the forest is given in *The New Purchase,* a racy book which tells of life in Indiana in a district mostly bought from the Indians.

The writer began by asking the question: "You that have paid $20,000 for a dwelling, what do you think of a dwelling that cost 20,000 cents? for that our cabin cost, and experienced woodmen said that was too much, that Uncle John had been cheated, and that our cabin could have been finished off for $10, from the laying of the first stick, to the topping of the chimney."

Having given this appetizing introduction, he went on to say of the palatial house in the forest:

"Our cabin was in truth a cabin of the Rough Order;

THE HALL AT KENMORE, FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA
(The home of Betty Washington Lewis)

"THE HIGHLANDS," FORT WASHINGTON, NEAR PHILADELPHIA
(Built in 1796 by Anthony Morris)

for, reader, the order of the cabin architecture are various like those of the Greek; for instance, *the Scotched Order.* In this, logs are hacked longitudinally and a slice taken from one side, the primitive bark being left on the other sides. The scotching, however, is usually done for pastime by the boys and young women, while the men are cutting or hauling other timbers. *The Hewed Order,* in which logs, like the stones for Solomon's Temple, are dressed on purpose. *The Stick-out-Corner Order,* the logs left to project at the corners, and the reverse of this, *the Cut-off Corner Order.* I might name, too, the *Doubtful* or *Double Order.* In this, two cabins are built together, but, until the addition of chimneys, it is doubtful whether the structure is for men or brutes, and also the *Composite Order—i.e.,* loggeries with stone or brick chimneys."

But the builder of this particular cabin had no thought of pretending that his abode was anything more than a very ordinary cabin of the Rough Order, "its logs, being wholly unhewed and unscotched, its corners projecting and hung with horse collars, gears, rough towels, dish cleaners and calabashes." It had, moreover, a very rude puncheon floor, a clapboard roof and a clapboard door, while for window a log in the erection had been skipped and through this longitudinal aperture came light and also wind, it being occasionally shut at first with a blanket, afterwards with a clapboard shutter. Neither nail nor spike held any part of the cabin together, and even the door was hung not with iron, but with broad hinges of tough bacon skin. "These, however, our two dogs soon smelled and finally gnawed clean off, when we pinned on thick half-tanned leather, which, sagging till the door dragged on the earth, we at last manufactured wooden hinges, and these remained till the dissolution of our colony. The

entire structure was, in theory, twenty feet square, as measured by an axe handle having set off on itself two feet from the store keeper's yardstick. . . . But I ever believed the yardstick itself must have shrunk in seasoning, because our carpets stretched inside . . . made the gross length only nineteen feet two inches, and the neat length inside an average about seventeen feet one inch."

Now for the story of how these 327 square feet were made to do their duty for a large family, giving each one his own particular quarters. "First, the puncheoned area was separated into two grand parts, by an honest Scotch carpet hung over a stout pole that ran across with ends rested on the opposite wall plates; the woolen portion having two-thirds of the space on one side and the remaining third on the other. Secondly, the larger space was then itself subdivided by other carpets and buffalo robes into chambers, each containing one bed and twelve nominal inches to fix and unfix in, while trunks, boxes and the like plunder were stationed under the bed. Articles intended by nature to be hung, frocks, hats, coats, etc., were pendent from hooks and pegs of wood inserted into the wall. To move or turn around in a chamber without mischief done or got was difficult, and yet we came at last to the skill of a conjuror that can dance blindfolded among eggs—we could in the day without light, and at night in double darkness, get along and without displacing, knocking down, kicking over, or tearing!"

Then more careful planning was necessary: "The chambers were, one for Uncle John and his nephew; one for the widow ladies and Miss Emily, who, being the pet, nestled at night in a trundle bed, partly under the large one; and one *very* small room for the help, which was separated from the Mistress' chamber by pendulous petti-

coats. Our apprentices slept in an out-house. These chambers were all south of the grand hall of eighteen inches wide between the suites; on the north, being first *our* room and next it the stranger's—a room into which at a pinch were several times packed three guests. Beyond the hospitality chamber was the toilette room, fitted with glasses, combs, hair brushes, etc., and after our arrival, furnished with the first glass window in that part. . . . The window was of domestic manufacture, being one fixed sash containing four panes, each eight by tens, by whose light in warm weather we could not only fix but also read in retirement."

But this was not all, for more space was needed, so "the smaller space, east of the Scotch wall, was subdivided, but, like zones and tropics, with imaginary lines. Front of the fireplace was the parlour. Into it were ushered visitors, mainly, however, to prevent curiosity or awkwardness from meddling with the corners and their uses; but against which we were forced finally to place a table or two as preventives. The right-hand corner was the ladies' *private* sitting room. It was filled with clapboard shelves, and on these were arranged work-bags, boxes, baskets, paint boxes, machinery for sewing, knitting, etc. The left side and whole corner was the library, or as usually styled, the study."

The story of this pioneer's cabin was told with genial humor. But back of the humor there was the seriousness of the man who realizes what the nation owes to the stout-hearted men and women who have been able to bring up in such contracted quarters families from which have come the bone and sinew of our nation's life.

Now for a few glimpses of the more pretentious houses, built by dwellers in the cities, or by those who were able

to prepare in the country habitations more in keeping with those they had left across the sea.

Among the earliest descriptions of the abodes of city dwellers was that written by Madam Sarah Knight of Boston. On the occasion of her venturesome trip to New York in 1704 she wrote, after attending a public sale or "Vendue":

"The Citie of New York is a pleasant well compacted place, situated on a Commodius River which is a fine harbour for shipping. The Buildings Brick Generaly, very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston, The Bricks in some of the Houses are of divers Coulers and laid in Checkers, being glazed look very agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plasterd, and the Sumers and Gist are plained and kept very white scowr'd as so is all the partitions if made of Bords. The fire places have no Jambs (as ours have) But the Backs run flush with the walls, and the Hearth is of Tyles and is as farr out into the Room at the Ends as before the fire, which is Generally Five foot in the Low'r rooms, and the peice over where the mantle tree should be is made as ours with Joyners work, and as I supose is fasten'd to iron rodds inside, The House where the Vendue was, had Chimney Corners like ours, and they and the hearths were laid with the finest tile that I ever see, and the stair cases laid all with white tile which is ever clean, and so are the walls of the Kitchen which had a Brick floor."

By "Sumers and Gist" the observer meant summers and joist. The summer was a central beam supporting the joist, or a bearing beam.

One of the most ambitious houses in early days in the Middle Colonies was the mansion of Colonel William

Keith, near Philadelphia, which he built in 1721, on his estate sixteen miles from the ambitious town. The house was three stories high, with walls two feet thick; the rooms were large and beautifully paneled, some of the walls from the floor to the high ceiling. For the fireplace brick and tile were brought from England. Other features of note are—for the house is still standing in wonderful repair—the bull's-eye glass above the front door, the hole in the floor of the Governor's office upstairs, where he deposited his valuables, the handmade lath in the attic, the stack chimneys, each with three flues, and the bit of wall in front of the house which is a remnant of the old slave quarters.

A house of very different character was that near Braintree, Massachusetts, in which John Adams was born. This has been described as a "plain, square, honest block of a house, widened to a lean-to, and scarcely two stories high." This most modest dwelling was succeeded by others, finally by a house built in 1731, which John Adams bought in 1785. There—in 1814—he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding. And in it the ex-president wrote a letter which showed that he was as humble as his house was modest. The letter was dated from Quincy (as Braintree had become) on July 23, 1818, only a few months before his wife died. It was addressed to John T. Waters, Esquire, and said:

"I thank you for your favor of the 12th. You advise me to write my own Life upon a very extensive plan. But you must give me a lease of another life of 82 years, before I can undertake it.

"When I read the Lives of Doctor Benjamin Franklin and Governor Patrick Henry, my own appears, upon retrospection, a dull, dreary, unfruitful trail. I should be

ashamed to read it, though the writer be a Franklin or a West.

"Of the interposition of Providence in our favor I have had abundant experiences, and such as would not be believed upon my authority if I should tell them.

"It would be silly in me to write upon the Progress of Luxury, for the History of All Ages and Countries are uniform, that Luxury grows with Population, Wealth, and Prosperity."

Not far from the Quincy house from which this letter was written—a house that still stands—are two wonderful specimens of the "overhang" house, a manner of building popular with the pioneers who saw the possibility of firing down on savage foes from the floor of the second story, which reached out by a foot or two beyond the first story. These may be found in Saugus, Massachusetts; they are known as Broadhearth and the Bennett Boardman house. Both were built about 1650.

More than a century later, in Marblehead, Massachusetts, Colonel Jeremiah Lee built a mansion that was the wonder of people for a hundred miles around, and is still a marvel to those who visit it. Its brick walls are covered with clapboards. In it are fifteen rooms, spacious halls, a staircase wide enough for four or five people abreast, paneled walls, wall paper of the delightful Colonial patterns, and a many-windowed cupola which gives a pleasing view of the sea.

Comfort was not a monopoly of the dwellers in towns. Soon after the building of the Marblehead house, a New Jersey farmer advertised a house, "built of stone, two stories high, 53 feet in length and 30 in breadth . . . on the first floor five rooms, with a fireplace in every room. The second floor contains six rooms, with fireplaces in

IN A COLONIAL KITCHEN
(Note bake-oven on the right)

CANDLESTICKS, LAMPS, AND LANTERNS OF COLONIAL DAYS
(From the collection of Henry Ford, Dearborn, Michigan)

three of them. A commodious cellar runneth the greater part of the building, and a large convenient garret over the whole. . . . A kitchen 22 feet long and 16 wide, a negro house, a well, a garden and convenient yard; a barn, a stable and a chaise house under one roof, 50 feet and 20 wide, fixed on stone pedestals, and covered and enclosed with cedar."

A few weeks after this commodious place was offered for sale, the *Pennsylvania Journal* told of an opportunity to buy—from Richard Stockton, whose mansion, Morven, still stands in superb dignity at Princeton, New Jersey—a house whose builders had not neglected the surroundings: "The garden and the back part of the house are ornamented with a rich variety of honey-suckle vines, and the garden is stored with raspberries, strawberries, asparagus, &c. The orchard produces very good apples, and some of the finest peaches of different kinds that are to be found in America."

The New York City of a little later day than that of Sarah Knight's visit contained some handsome houses. One of them, the Morris-Jumel house, which is as stanch today as when it was occupied by Washington as headquarters in 1776, had a large hall in the center, a spacious dining room on the right; on the left a handsome parlor and a large back room; on the second floor seven bedchambers; on the upper floor five lodging rooms; "and at the top of the house"—note well the final triumph of the description—"is affixed an electric conductor."

In 1800, eight years after the appearance of the advertisement in which the delicious description of the Morris-Jumel house was given, Alexander Hamilton built the noble house from which he went to his death on the dueling field at Weehawken, a house built in accordance with the

advice of his father-in-law, General Schuyler, that it be "boarded on the outside . . . and filled on the inside with brick; that no water might pass to the bricks, and that rats and mice might be excluded, as they could not be from a house where lath and plaster are used inside instead of brick."

When President Washington went to Philadelphia in 1789 he moved into the house of Robert Morris, the man whose ingenuity was responsible for financing the later years of the Revolutionary War. The house has been described by Charles Henry Hart:

"It was built of brick, three stories high, and the main building was fifty-five feet six inches wide by fifty-two feet deep, and the kitchen and wash-house were twenty feet wide by fifty-five deep, while the stables would accommodate twelve horses. The front of the house had four windows on the second and third floors, two on either side of the main hall, and on the first floor three windows and a single door approached by heavy grey stone steps. On each side of the house were vacant lots used as a garden and containing shrubbery."

Later the State of Pennsylvania built a house which was intended for the occupancy of the President. It had three stories and a basement, with steps rising from the pavement to the beautiful Colonial front door. Five front windows were on the second and third stories; of the second-story openings two were well-wrought Palladian windows. There were five windows on the side as well, for the house was nearly square. A railing surrounded the flat roof, which had a cupola surmounted by a weather vane. Within were spacious halls, reception rooms, bedrooms, and a remarkable stairway. The paneling and

other woodwork were unusually fine, even for that day of excellent cabinet work.

Unfortunately the house so well planned and equipped was not occupied according to the intention of the builders. A letter from John Adams, dated March 3, 1797, and addressed to Governor Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania, gives the explanation:

"Having been out the Forenoon upon public Business it was not untill my Return after three OClock that I received the Letter you did me the Honor to write me on this day.

"The Respect to the United States intended by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in building a House for the President will no doubt be acknowledged by the Union as it ought to be.

"For your kind offer of it to me in Consequence of its authority I beg you to accept of my respectful Thanks and to present them to the Legislature.

"But as I entertain great doubts whether by a candid Construction of the Constitution of the United States, I am at Liberty to accept it without the Instruction and Authority of Congress and there is not time for any Application to them, I must pray you to apologise for me to the Legislature for declining the offer."

The first President, also, had his difficulties in the matter of housing, though these were different from those of John Adams; he had his house, but the problem was to find funds to keep it in repair. From Mount Vernon Washington addressed a letter to J. F. Mercer, at Annapolis, on September 9, 1786, which told of the trouble:

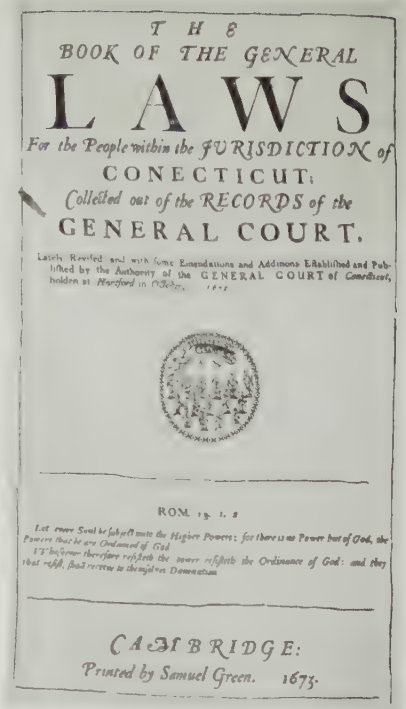
"I shall rely on your promise of two hundred pounds in five weeks from the date of your letter. It will enable me to pay the workmen which have been employed at this

house all the Spring and Summer (some of whom are here still). But there are two debts which press hard upon me, one of which, if there is no other resource, I must sell land and negroes to discharge. It is owing to Geo. Clinton of New York, who was so obliging as to borrow and become my security for £2500 to answer some calls of mine. The sum was to be returned in twelve months, from the conclusion of the Peace. For the remainder of it, about eight hundred pounds of your currency, I am paying an interest of 7 per cent, but the high interest (it's more than my estate can bear), I should not regret if my credit was not at stake to comply with the conditions of the loan. The other debt, tho' I know the person to whom it is due wishes it, and I am equally anxious to pay it, might be put off a while longer. The sum is larger than the other."

Another problem of a man who would make his house comfortable was touched on in a letter to Bushrod Washington, in 1784:

"When I came to examine the Chimney pieces in the House I found them so interwoven with the other parts of the Work and so good of their kind, as to induce me to lay aside all thought of taking any of them down—for the only room which remains unfinished I am not yet fixed in my own mind but believe I shall place a marble one there; at any rate I shall suspend the purchase of any of those mentioned in your letter, and would not wish Mr. Roberts to hold either of them in expectation of it."

But more burdensome than repairs, how to make them and how to pay for them, was—at times—the servant problem. Who would think that Washington at Mount Vernon had any such disquieting troubles! But note his letter of September 7, 1785, to Clem Biddle, Esquire:



THE
BOOK OF THE GENERAL
LAWS
For the People within the JURISDICTION of
CONECTICUT:
Collected out of the RECORDS of the
GENERAL COURT.

Lately Revised and with some Emendations and Additions Established and Published by the Authority of the GENERAL COURT of Conecticut, holden at Hartford in October. 1672

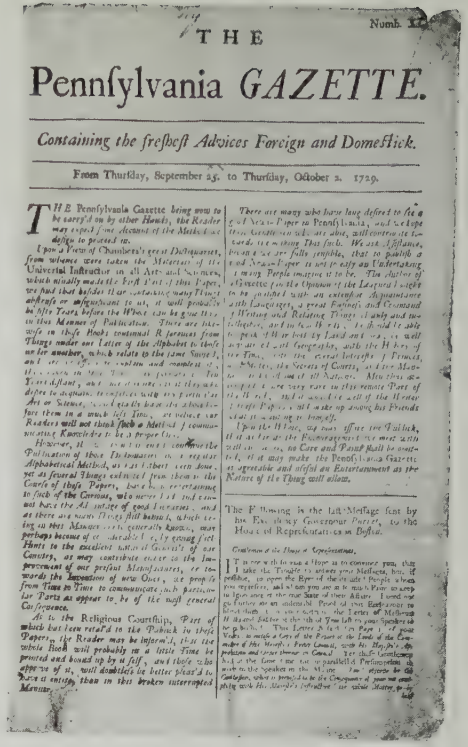
ROM. 13. 1. 2

Let every Soul be subject unto the Higher Powers: for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are Ordained of God

Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

CAMBRIDGE:
Printed by Samuel Green. 1673.

A SPECIMEN OF EARLY PRINTING
(From the First Printing Office in the Colonies)



THE
Pennsylvania GAZETTE.

Containing the freshest Advices Foreign and Domestick.

From Thursday, September 25. to Thursday, October 2. 1729.

THE Pennsylvania Gazette being now to be carry'd on by other Hands, the Reader may expect some Account of the Method we design to pursue in.

Upon a View of Chambers's great Dictionary, from whence were taken the Materials of the Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, which mainly made the First Part of this Paper, we find that besides the entertaining many Persons desirous or unpracticed in it, it would probably be after Years, before the Whole can be gone thro' in this Manner of Publication. There are likewise in those Books continual References from Things under one Letter of the Alphabet to those under another, which relate to the same Subject, and are design'd to explain and complete it; which cannot in this Way be performed. This Years distant, and not to come on it till many Years hence, when perhaps we may have had some other Art or Science, as usefully handled and abounding with Terms in a much better Time, or which our Readers will not think such a Method of communicating Knowledge to be a proper One.

However, it is our Intention to continue the Publication of those Dictionaries in a regular Alphabetical Method, as we at present have done, yet as several Things collected from them in the Courts of those Papers, have been entertaining to such of the Curious, who never had and cannot have the Advantage of good Libraries: and as there are many Things still behind, which being not Matters of so generally known, may perhaps become of considerable Use to young Artists to the excellent Nation of Generals of our Countrys, as may contribute much to the Improvement of our present Manufactures, or towards the Invention of new Ones; we propose from Time to Time to communicate such particular Parts as appear to be of the most general Conference.

As to the Religious Courtship, Part of which has been related in the Publick in these Papers, the Reader may be informed, that the whole Book will probably in a little Time be printed and bound up by it self, and those who approve of it, will doubtless be better pleas'd to have it entire, than in this broken interrupted Manner.

There are many who have long desired to see a good News-Paper in Pennsylvania, and we hope these Gentlemen will not be alone, unfurnished as to Encouragement. We want Assistance, because we are fully sensible, that to publish a good News-Paper is not so easy an Undertaking as many People imagine it to be. The Author of whatever (in the Opinion of the Learned) ought to be published with an extensive Acquaintance with Languages, a great Fluency and Command of Writing and Relating Things clearly and intelligibly, and in few Words. He should be able to speak of Men as they by Land and Sea, as well as Affairs and Transactions, both Civil and Military, of Time, and the several Interests of Princes and States, the Secrets of Courts, and the Manners of almost all Nations. Also those employed in News may have Care in this remote Part of the World, and of consequence all of the Memorable Occurrences that will make up among his Friends about us and one of themselves.

Upon the Whole, we must assure the Publick, that as far as the Encouragement we meet with will allow us, no Care and Pains shall be wanting, that may make the Pennsylvania Gazette as agreeable and useful an Entertainment as the Nature of the Thing will allow.

The Following is the last Message sent by his Excellency Governour Burnet, to the House of Representatives in Boston.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I Am now with in a Hour as to convene you, that I may take the Thoughts of as many your Members, how, if possible, to open the Eyes of the misled People a little, from whence, and when you are as it were Prisoners in your own House, you may see as in a Glass the Power in every Town, and the Influence of their Affairs. I need not go further for an undeniable Proof of your Error, than to the Letter of Mr. Secretary Addington to the Letter of Mr. Secretary Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, which you have Copies of, and which have been published in the Votes of the House of Commons. Thus I leave it to you Gentlemen, to make a Copy of the Power of the Lords of the Committee of the Honourable Privy Council, with his Majesty's Royal Prohibition and Order thereon in Council. You that are Gentlemen, look at the same time to a parallel of Parliamentary Power with the Speaker in the Chair. You return to the Gallery, where you will see the Consequence of your not complying with His Majesty's Instructions in the whole Matter, as it

THE FIRST PAGE OF THE INITIAL NUMBER OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S NEWSPAPER

THE OLD PUMP AT THE CHEW HOUSE, GERMANTOWN, PHILADELPHIA

"The man who at present lives with me in the capacity of a Housekeeper . . . will leave in a day or two, which (until his place can be filled) will throw a great additional weight on Mrs. Washington. I, therefore, beg if you, or Mr. Moyston, should have sent me a person who you think would answer my purpose (as described in my former letter) that you would engage her (or him) absolutely, instead of conditionally, and send her on by the stage. In the meanwhile, if one should offer to my liking here, any engagement shall be conditional. No disappointment, therefore, can happen to the person engaged by you."

On November 13, 1797, after the return to Mount Vernon following his terms as President, Washington wrote to George Lewis:

"The running off of my cook has been a most inconvenient thing for the family, and what rendered it more disagreeable, is that I had resolved never to become the master of another slave by purchase, but this resolution I fear I must break. I have endeavored to hire, black or white, but am not yet supplied."

As the writer said, purchase of another slave would not be in accordance with his principles, as these were announced in a paragraph of the letter of 1786, already quoted in part, in which he told of his debts and the payments due workmen on his house:

"I never meant (unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it) to procure another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by the Legislature by which slavery in the country be abolished—by slow, sure and imperceptible degrees."

The vexed question of how to secure servants troubled Samuel Breck, who built Sweetbrier on the banks of the

Schuylkill in Philadelphia in 1797. The house stands to-day in Fairmount Park; those who see it recognize the description given by the builder:

"It is a fine stone house, rough cast, fifty-three feet long, thirty-eight broad, and three stories high, having outbuildings of every kind suitable for elegance and comfort. The prospect consists of the river, animated by the great trade, carried on in boats of about thirty tons, drawn by horses; of a beautiful sloping lawn, terminating at that river, and nearly four hundred yards wide opposite the porticoes. . . ."

Breck called his place a villa. And he owned that one drawback to his enjoyment of it was the lack of proper people to help him find comfort in it. Once he wrote, in his diary:

"In my family, consisting of nine or ten persons, the greatest abundance is provided; commonly seventy pounds of fresh butcher meat, poultry and fish a week, and when I have company, nearly twice as much; the best and kindest treatment is given to the servants; they are seldom visited by Mrs. Breck, and then always in a spirit of courtesy; their wages are the highest going, and are freely paid to them when asked for; yet during the last twelve months we have had seven different cooks and five different waiters. . . . I pay, for instance to my cook one dollar and twenty-five cents a week; to my gardener eleven dollars per month; to the waiter, ten dollars, to the farm servants ten dollars, etc., etc. Now, if they remain steady (with meat three times a day) for three or four years, they can lay by enough to purchase two or three hundred acres of land."

Breck solved his problem, after a fashion, by the purchase of the time of men and women who came over from

England without funds, their passage being advanced to them by the captain, or otherwise, the money being repaid by those who bought their services, on arrival, for a specified term.

An old Philadelphia record of 1746 tells how James Hamilton, then mayor of Philadelphia, spent a large section of his time in arranging for the indenture of these "redemptioners," as they were called. In a single year there were more than seven hundred cases similar to the following:

"Joseph Smith assigns Elizabeth McNalton (a servant from Ireland in the ship *Katherine*) to Peacock Bigger of Philadelphia coppersmith for four years. Consideration £14."

"Benjamin Sashley, in consideration of £8 paid for his passage from Ireland by Archibald Thorp of Philadelphia, cordwainer, indents himself a servant to said Archibald for one year."

"The Overseers of the Poor of Philadelphia bind Susanna Whitefield an apprentice to Keith Adams of Philadelphia, shopkeeper, for eight years and ten months . . . to be taught to read and write and sew plain work and housekeeping and when free to have two suits of apparel, one of which is to be new."

The *American Weekly Mercury* of December 12, 1722, told of a hundred Palatines, to be disposed of for five years, each, to anyone paying their "passage money at ten pounds per head."

Frequently these redemptioners ran away from their masters. Early newspapers contained many advertisements offering rewards for the absentees. The *Mercury* for March 1, 1719-20 had this:

"Ran away from the Forge at Monataunoy in the county

of Philadelphia, a Welshman middle sized, About 21 Years of Age, of a clear Complexion, and a fresh cullour; Full Faced, with hollow Eyes and bottle nose, short brown hair a Little Curled; Full Shouldered, and when he Walks he stamps down his Feet. When he went away he had a green silk Handkercheiff about his neck a broad brim'd Hat a brown Culler'd Coat but too Long for him, a mixt Kersey Jacket with Horn Buttons, Leather Breeches with brass buttons, and old Worstead Stockings, his name is Thomas Fare, but has gone Sometime by the name of Thomas Price. Whosoever can Secure the said Person and give notice thereof to William Branson in the Market place in Philadelphia, or to William Coats in the said City shall have Forty Shillings Reward and Reasonable Charges."

Other advertisements told of possible bargains in servants, offered by those who wished to dispose of them. In 1721 the *Mercury* told of "a servant Lad about 18 years of age, who "pretends to be a Penman." And in 1732 announcement was made that the advertiser had for sale "one honest, hail and well-set Servant Girl, of about 17 years of age, Indented for 6 years, able and fit for Country Work."

Some of the hardships of these redemptioners were placed on the court records of Kent County, Maryland, in 1659. A woman complained that her employer had beaten her cruelly. "Thereupon her mistress struck her with a rope's end, before the Magistrate. The Magistrate said he could not in justice pass by or suffer this. The servant said she had also received hard words from her mistress, and had run away for 12 days. One judge thought that she should be whipped, but the other judges thought "her former stripes were sufficient corporal pun-

ishment," and that she should "on her knees in open court, ask forgiveness and promise amendment."

The humanity of the judges was shown also on August 7, 1660, when a maid complained that her master "fell on her and beat her with a great rope's end so that there were twenty-one impressions of blows, small and great, upon her neck and arms," and that her master had said, "Spoil me a batch of bread again!" He owned to the beating. Again he had hit her on the head with a three-legged stool for taking a book, saying, "You dissembling jade, what do you with a book in your hand?" The court thereupon discharged the woman from her apprenticeship.

There was a man who made up his mind that there should be no such disturbance in his house, either with servants or with his wife. His name was Jacob Spicer, and he was a widower. When he went a-wooing Deborah Leaming, widow, he presented to her a remarkable document, introduced thus:

"I . . . esteem it necessary to submit to your consideration some particulars before we enter upon that solemn Enterprize which may either establish our happiness or Occasion our Inquietude during life, and if you concur with the particulars I shall have great incouragement to carry my design into Execution; and since Happiness is the great Pursued of a Rational creature, so marriage ought not to be attempted short of a prospect of arriving thereat, and in order thereto (should we marry) I conceive the following Rules and particulars ought to be steadily afirmed and kept."

Then he wrote out twenty-two propositions, of which a number are:

1. That we keep but one purse, a Severance of Interest bespeaking diffidence, mistrust and disunity of mind.

2. That we avoid anger as much as possible, especially with each other, but If either should be overtaken then with the other to Treat the angry party with temper and moderation during the Continuance of such Anger, and afterwards If need requires, let the matter of heat be cooly discussed when reason shall resume its Government.

3. As we have different Stocks of Children to which we are, and ought to be strongly attached by Ties of Natuer, so it is proper when such children, or any of them, need Correction, it be administered by the party from whom they have Descended, unless in the opinion of both Parties it shall be thought necessary to be otherwise administered for the Children's good.

7. That each of us use our best Endeavours to Inculcate upon the Minds of our respective Stock of Children A Venerable and Honorable Opinion of the other of us. . . .

10. That no Suspicious Jealousies of any kind whatever be harboured in our hearts, without absolute or good Circumstantial evidence.

17. That in case Jacob Spicer after Trial shall not think it for his Interest, or agreeable to his disposition, to live at the plantation where Deborah Leaming now resides, then and in such case she is to remove with him elsewhere.

18. That the said Jacob Spicer be allowed from Time to Time to purchase such Books from our Joint Stock as he shall think Necessary. . . .

21. That if anything be omitted in the foregoing rules and Particulars that may Conduce to our future Happiness and Welfare the same to be hereafter supplied. . . .

22. That the said Jacob Spicer shall not upbraid the said Deborah with the extraordinary Industry and Good

Oeconomy of his deceased wife, neither shall the said Deborah Leaming upbraid the said Jacob Spicer with the like extraordinary Industry and good Oeconomy of her Deceased Husband."

Both man and woman signed the paper December 16, 1751. It is not recorded how they lived. But what excuse would there have been for lack of harmony in their home? And what peace there must have been among children as well as servants!

CHAPTER III

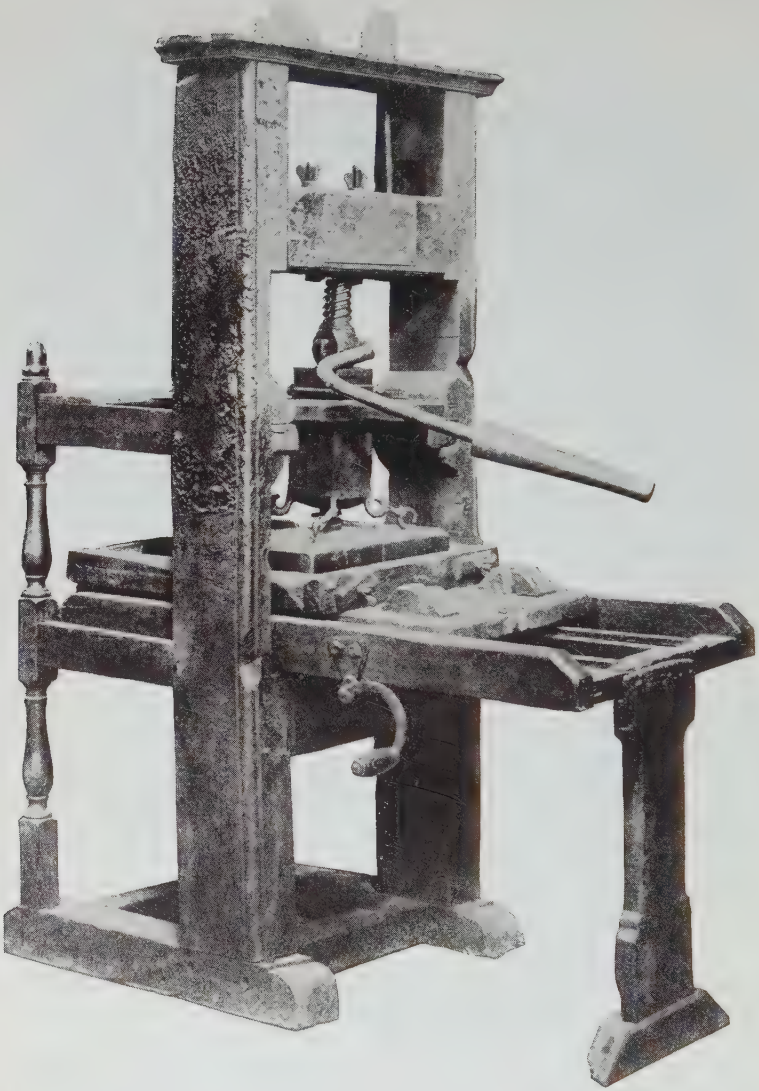
A HALF HOUR WITH YE COLONIAL EDITOR

TWO hundred years ago a newspaper editor had a strange idea of the things his readers would wish to see in his paper. Even at this early day there were a few papers published in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. A little later there were papers at Charleston, Baltimore, and other Southern cities.

In these papers little space was given to local news. The editor seemed to think that the farther away anything occurred, the more reason there was for telling about it. At any rate, an editor promised his subscribers "an impartial account of Transactions in the Several States of Europe, America, &c." For a long time none of them thought of saying anything about such matters of home interest as deaths, births, or weddings; perhaps the thought was that it was of no use to speak of things that everyone must know about. For this reason the first death notice of a child printed in the Philadelphia *American Weekly Mercury,* in January 1736-37, was notable. Of this eleven-year-old boy it was said: "His great accomplishments, considering his age, together with the natural sweetness of his temper, the amiableness of his Person, and his manly Deportment, gained the Love and Esteem of all who knew him."

At one time an editor had a brilliant idea. He would print more news of this character. He wrote, "We intend to insert the Births and Burials which happen in this City

CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA
(From a drawing by Birch, 1800) (See page 57)



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S PRINTING PRESS
(In the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.)

every Month." This was done, but, to the modern notion, there was an all-important omission—no names were given, the total of births, deaths, etc., during a given time only being mentioned. Even accidents were reported in the same manner. For instance, in 1721 appeared the notice, "Drowned, accidentally, in the river, a man." It is not surprising that this method of printing news did not seem to be satisfactory to the readers. At any rate, the editor soon changed his policy—not by adding names and so making his items worth something, but by omitting the paragraphs altogether!

The receipt of news from other Colonies and from abroad was dependent on the arrival of ships. Once the editor's dependence on the help of the captains of vessels was indicated by an appeal:

"We likewise Desire those Gentlemen that receive any Authentic Account of News from Europe, or other places, which might be proper for this paper, that they will please to favor us with a copy."

In the fall of 1720 a captain accepted the invitation, after arriving "in a Sloop from Virginia." He brought advices, "That a Spanish Privateer Brigantine . . . within and near the Capes of Virginia, had taken five Ships, a Pink laden, bound for Barbadoes to Virginia, and several Sloops; that the Privateers Mann'd a sloop they had taken, and made a Privateer of her; That two Sloops were fitted out of Virginia after them, who retook one Ship, with nine Spaniards and an Indian man on Board, with a Copy of the Privateer's Commission, which was Dated at St. Augustine, the 2d of September last."

Bits of news from England during the same year told of incidents in two of the greatest speculations of the eighteenth century, both of which brought disaster to

countless dupes. The first of these items appeared in January:

"The prodigious Fall of South Sea Stock has ruined Thousands: several Gentlemen who kept their Coaches before they dealt in South Seas are now forced to walk on Foot. By the Same Turn of Fortune's Wheel, footmen and cookmaids loll in their Gilded Chariots and smile at the Fate of their quondam Masters."

A later issue of the same paper contained a bit of doggerel on the disaster:

"When Moses and Isr'el had crossed the Red Sea,
Nor Dangers nor Fears th' Egyptians dismay:
How rashly they ventur'd, till Waves them Surrounded,
And all the proud Troop in an Instant was drownded.
Thus Thousands of late have pass'd the South Seas,
As safe as in Water not up to their Knees;
When last those that came after Without wet or Fear,
Like Pharaoh's great Host, are now nick'd in the Rear."

The second item had to do with the Mississippi Bubble:

"The two Ships, which are building at Limehouse Dock, for the French Mississippi Company, will be launched in a few Days, and we hear that the said Company have contracted for the building four more in the River."

In 1725 a startling news item from Boston found its way into print:

" 'Tis thought that not less than 20 Bears have been Kill'd in about a Week. Ten within Ten miles of Boston. Two have been kill'd below the castle, as they were swimming from one Island to another; and one attempted to Board a Boat out in the Bay, but the Men defended themselves as well with the Boat Hook and Oars, that they put out her Eyes, and then kill'd her."

The editor who told of the unfortunate bears told of a fortunate widow. She had "saved a considerable Sum of Money by her Care and Industry, put it in an Earthen Pot and laid it under Ground." A man found it there, took the money, but "left the Pot for the same use another time."

The reader of the files of Colonial newspapers is apt to be impressed with the fact that the weather was as fertile a subject for comment as it is to-day. The manner of expression was usually quaint, and the interpretation of the facts of nature was sometimes peculiar.

From a news item of May 18, 1738, it is evident that the facts of electricity were not known:

"Last Sunday night we had a terrible Clap of Thunder Which kill'd a Horse, at the North End of the City."

A week later information was passed of a "Clap that killed a Yoe and Two Lambs"; while "another split a Tree, when a Dog was Whirl'd a considerable Way by the Same."

On August 21, 1735, the Philadelphia *American Weekly Mercury* said:

"On Monday last we had here a Gust of Wind and some Rain:—The next Morning the Caps of several Pumps were found at a considerable distance from their proper Stations, carried (against the Wind) and laid at People's Doors; and a Cart was found under the Court-House, &c,—resembling the Effects of some very Wild Hurricanes."

In August, 1732, a heavy rain might have caused the loss of the life of a child. The *Mercury* chronicler told the story:

"In the Great Valley a Child about two years and a half old, went out at 7 a Clock in the Morning of Tuesday

and lost itself in the Woods. Search was made after it all that Day in vain. The next day all the Neighbors assisted in the Search till Night, but without Effect. The Day following near 100 People employ'd themselves in scouring the Woods, but Still successless. In the Meantime there fell a plenty deal of Rain, the Wind being at N. East. The Child was not found till near Sunset on Friday; but to the great Joy and Surprise of the Parents, still alive and well."

On November 2, 1727, the same paper related the fact that "on Sunday night, between the Hours of Ten and Eleven, we had a Small Shock of an Earthquake which awakened some people out of their Sleep."

New York City was not as modest—or as veracious—as the Philadelphia chronicler, for "advices from New York" said that the shock on the same night "Shook the Pewter from off the Shelves, and the China from the Cupboard Heads and Chimney Pieces, and set all the Clocks a Running down."

In two hundred years news-gatherers have not improved on the manner of telling of storms and earthquakes!

Hot weather in its turn supplied items that were startling. Here is one, printed on July 11, 1734:

"On the 6th instant at By-bery one James Worthington as he was reaping was so overcome with the excessive hot Weather that he fell down, was carried to the Shade, in hopes he would recover, but died immediately. N. B. He was the Person Mentioned in our *Mercury* last Winter, that Eat the Forty one Eggs after a hearty Dinner."

During February of 1733 the editor recorded facts as follows:

"Since our last we have had Rain and Warm Weather and but little cold. The Rain which was considerable and

CHILDREN.

FOraſmuch as the good Education of Children is of ſingular behoof and beneft to any Colony, and wherras many Parents and Maſters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kinde;

It is therefore Ordered by the Authority of this Court; That the Seleƈt-men of every Town in this Juriſdiction, in their ſeveral precinƈts and quarters ſhall have a vigilant eye over their Brethren and Neighbours, to ſee that none of them ſhall ſuffer ſo much Barbariſme in any of their Families, as not to endeavour by themſelves, or others, to teach their Children and Apprentices ſo much learning as may enable them perfeƈtly to reade the Engliſh Tongue, and knowledge of the Capital Laws, upon penalty of *twenty ſhillings* neglect therein: Alſo that all Maſters of Families do once a week at leaſt, Catechiſe their Children and Servants in the Grounds and Principles of Religion; and if any be unable to do ſo much, that then at the leaſt they procure ſuch Children and Apprentices to learn ſome ſhort Orthodox Catechiſme without book, that they may be able to anſwer to the Queſtions that ſhall be propounded to them out of ſuch Catechiſme, by their Parents or Maſters, or any of the Seleƈt-men, when they ſhall call them to an accompt of what they have learned in that kinde. And further, that all Parents and Maſters do breed and bring up their Children and Apprentices in ſome honeſt and lawful calling, labour or imployment, profitable for themſelves and the Colony; if they will not or cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher imployments; and if any of the Seleƈt-men after Admonition by them given to ſuch Maſters of Families, ſhall finde them ſtill negligent of their duties in the particulars afore-mentioned, whereby Children and Servants grow rude, ſtubborn, and unruly, the ſaid Seleƈt-men, with the help of two Magiſtrates, ſhall take ſuch Children and Apprentices from them, and place them with ſome Maſters for years, Boyes till they

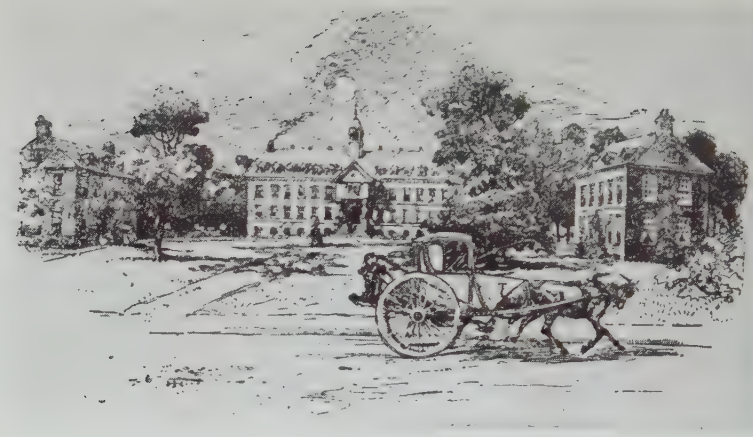
Seleƈt men to take care that all childr. be taught to read

and Catechiſed

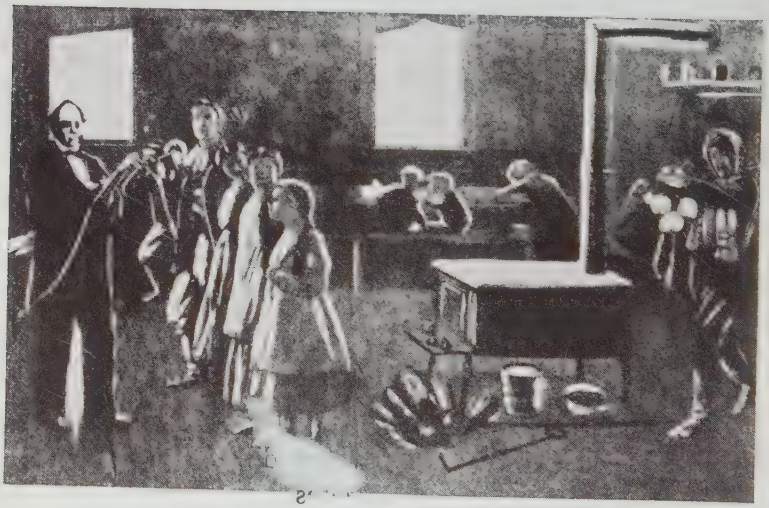
Children to be brought up in ſome calling

unruly chil. to be placed out &c.

A SCHOOL OF PIONEERS
CONNECTICUT'S EARLY LAW ON EDUCATION
(See page 59)



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE IN 1723
(From an Old Print) (See page 74)



A SCHOOL OF EARLY DAYS
(From an Old Print)

the Thawing of Abundance of Snow, occasioned a Fresh in Skylkill, which broke up the Ice in that River on Sunday morning last, in a surprising manner. The Ice was 15 Inches thick at Delaware yet fast except on Opening before the Town; so that Skylkill would in all probability have continued shut up for a Week or two longer had no Frost happen'd, but for the Sudden coming down of a prodigious Quantity of Water, rising several Inches in a Minute. . . . Joseph Gray's Flat lyes surrounded with Cakes of Ice of near half a yard thick in his orchard 100 Foot from the River and 3 Foot higher than a common tide. Such a Fresh, and Breaking up of the Ice, has not been known in any Man's Memory."

A few years earlier, in December, it was written,

"Our River is very full of Ice, and the Ship *Prince of Orange,* which is going with a Flag of Truce and Spanish Prisoners to St. Augustine, is in great Danger, being caught in it; but it is hoped they will get her into some creek till the River is clear."

Another issue recorded the fact that the ice was thick enough for heavily laden "slays" to be driven twenty miles up the Delaware from Philadelphia.

In February, 1732, the cold weather led a contributor to write a wail in rhyme:

"Cold as the Artick Pole in Winter time,
This seems to be a farther Northern Clime . . .
Highways were safely passed
Where Boats with Sails and .id lately run,
Young men now on their Skeete: do play delight,
As swift in Motion as some Birds in flight . . .
Anglers here the Ice do often cut,
And take with line and Hook, Pike, Chub and Trout.

Cold and long Winters before have been . . .
The price of Wood was never known before
So high as now; cause from the Jersey shore
None is conveyed, yet there's no want of it;
Wood must be had, before good fires to sit;
And other Uses, as to Boil the Pot;
But what must poor Folk do, who have it not,
Nor Clothes enough to keep their Bodies warm?
To them cold winter sounds a dread alarm . . .
Rich men can Winter into Summer turn,
In whose warm homes good Fires do always burn,
Who having many Cloathes not thin and Old,
Who every Day may Feast and make Good Cheer: . . .
Who have good Bed at Night to lye upon,
Prepared for them with the Warming Pan;
If these Complain of Cold, what will the Poor,
Who all contrary Hardships do endure?"

But if the news columns of the primitive papers of long ago are valuable because of the pictures they give of life in Colonial days, the advertising columns are even more valuable.

The first number of the *American Weekly Mercury* appeared on December 22, 1719, when Philadelphia was only thirty-seven years old. Its proprietor, Andrew Bradford, made room for advertisements, although this first paper in the Middle Colonies, and the fourth in America, frequently contained but two pages, while the entire contents were only about two thousand words.

Yet there was room in an early number for the following notice:

"To be sold by Edward Horne, at John Worden's, Hatters, in the second Street in Philadelphia, Very Good

English Saffron, of the last year's Growth by Retails, for its weight in Silver, and Incouragement to any that take a Quantity. Also very Good new Caraway Seed at Reasonable Rates."

Another business man sent out word March 30, 1721:

"Any person that has any light hair to sell, may have ready Money at the best Price for it, of Oliver Galtory, Perriwig Maker, in High Street, near the Market Place Philadelphia."

Then came two women, evidently rivals in business, whose messages were in the same issue of the paper:

"Elizabeth Warnaty's Right and Genuine Spirit of Venice-Treacle, truly and only prepared by her in Philadelphia, who was the original and First Promoter of it in this City, is still sold by her at her Shop in High Street near the Market, as also the Spirit of Scurvy-Grass."

The rival advertised:

"Mary Bannister's Sovereign spirit of Venice Treacle, Sold for her by David Bremthall and Francis Knowles, is now, she being dead, rightly prepared by her Daughter, who imploys the same Person to sell it, and no other in the city of Philadelphia. At Francis Knowles's is to be sold the Golden Purging Spirit of Scurvey Gras at 15 d the bottle."

A few weeks after the appearance of these patent-medicine advertisements a shoemaker announced:

"These are to give notice that John Hopkins Living in Letitia Court over against Thomas Chalkley's, Mendeth Shoes and Boots Cheap, strong and neat."

Thomas Chalkley himself had something to say:

"All Persons Indebted to Thomas Chalkly merchant in the city of Philadelphia are desired to Come and settle their Accompts by reason his Book Keeper is going to

leave him, in order to prevent differences which may arrive hereafter."

The query naturally arises whether the differences were so feared by the "Book Keeper," that he was about to go, or whether they might be due to his departure.

John Copson was a merchant who advertised a little of everything. But his greatest venture was announced thus:

"Assurances from Losses happening at Sea, &c, being proved to be very much for the Ease and Benefit of Merchants and Traders in General; and whereas the Merchants of the City of Philadelphia and other parts, have been obliged to send to London for such Assurance, which has not only been very tedious and troublesome, but even very precarious. For remedying of which, an Office of Publick Insurance on Vessels, Goods and Merchandizes, will, on Monday next, be Opened, and Books kept by John Copson of this City, at his House in the High Street, where all Persons willing to be Insured may apply. And care shall be taken by said J. Copson That the Assurers or Under Writers be Persons of undoubted Worth and Reputation, and of considerable Interest in the City and Province."

Mr. Copson might have done business in insuring creditors against their debtors. In 1729 the *Mercury* said:

"Whereas Richard Heard of the Township of Oxford, in the County of Philadelphia, has Surrendered himself a bankrupt to his creditors. This is to give Notice to all persons who are In debt to said Heard, That they Pay their respective Debts in three Months Time at furthest, to Jonathan Fisher, Thomas Hatton, and William Rawle (or any of them) in Philadelphia, whom said creditors

have appointed to Receive the same; otherwise they may expect to be Prosecuted as the Law directs."

When there were few coaches in the city an advertisement like the following was well read:

"Coach and Chaise Work done after the best and newest Fashions. Made and Sold at Reasonable Rates, by Thomas Barton, Coach Maker in Third Street, Philadelphia, next door to the Widow Priest's. N. B. He has a New Convenient Two Wheel'd Chaise to Hier and several very good and new Finish'd, to dispose of."

An appeal for helpers of a kind not known to-day read as follows:

"Any Person capable of Undertaking and Preparing the Office of Chording of Wood brought in to the city of Philadelphia by Land or Water. . . . Any Person Disposed and Capable to take Charge of the Publick Almshouses belonging to the said city, and the Poor who are to be Lodged and Entertained there, are desired to apply to the Mayor with these Proposals."

Another notice tells of the primitive days when there were no fire engines, but every propery owner was required to have at hand a leather fire bucket, which he must take to the place of need, when alarm was given:

"Whereas, Leathern Buckets have been very much wasted, as by Experience at the Dreadful Fire in Chestnut Street, and several Persons not knowing where to be supply'd, These are to give Notice to all Persons that water Buckets may be supply'd by Abraham Cox in High street, Philadelphia."

There were many advertisements of a sort that told of needy white men and women who, unable to pay the passage to America from Europe, sold their services for a number of years in return for passage, and were therefore

offered as servants for a limited period. A sample read:

"Just arrived from London, in the Ship *Borden,* Will Harbert, Commander, a Parcel of young likely men Servants, consisting of Husband-men, Joyners, Shoe-makers, Weavers, Smiths, brick-makers, Brick-layers, Sawyers, Taylors, Stay-makers, Butchers, chainmakers, and several other Trades: and are to be sold very reasonable, either ready Money, Wheat Bread, or Flour, by Edward Horne, in Philadelphia."

A merchant who did not need to depend on uncertain shipments from England advertised:

"Very Good Season'd Pine boards and Cedar Shingles to be sold by Charles Ridd opposite to Mr. Thomas Masters, where any person may have Cocoa Ground, or be supply'd with right good Chocolate Cheap."

In the following August John Copson advertised:

"A Neat Pocket-Piece! Medals struck upon a new and fine Metal and beautiful even as Gold, Whereon are described (it being no broader than a Crown Piece) Tables, and Lines, whereby to find the Day of the Week and Day of the Month for Ever, the Rising and Setting of the Sun, the Southing and Age of the Moon, the Beginning and Ending of the Terms, the fixt and Moveable Feasts, and other Remarkables of the Year for Ever. Price 3 shillings each."

That calculations similar to those described became popular is evident from an advertisement inserted a little later by a schoolmaster who declared his readiness to teach "Calygraphical and stenogrifical arithmetick . . . also Dealing in a Most Plain and Regular Manner, Teaching how to project all sorts of Sun-Dials for Latitude, by a Line of Chords, very Pleasant and Delightful for all Ingenious Youth."

A merchant who used a measurement of time that leads the reader to think of the "Hour Sales" so popular in some quarters to-day, announced:

"For Sale by Inch of Candle."

"On Monday next, being the 3d of December, at four a Clock in the afternoon, at the Coffee-House in Philadelphia, a Lot on Society-Hill, lying between Front and Second Street, is above 100 Feet in Breadth, and fenced in."

Evidently the sale was to last only so long as the inch of candle burned; with the expiring flicker the lot would be knocked down to some eager purchaser!

That the patent-medicine vender is not a modern institution is evident from a card published in April, 1720:

"Right Golden, and Plain Spirit of Scurvy Grass, sold for Fifteen pence per bottle by Francis Knowles, over against the Court House in Philadelphia.

A later advertiser was more loquacious:

"Hendrick Van Bibber, who has Practiced as Doctor of Physick, many years, with good success, is removed hither, and offers his Services to all Persons who shall have occasion for him in any Distemper whatsoever. He himself prepares the best and surest Chymical Medecine, to be used successfully and without any Danger. Especially of him is to be had the renown'd Salmirabile, (wonderful in its Virtue for Fevers and Dropsie) and other Select Remedies. He lives in Lititia Court, in the same House with Arent Hassert, merchant, in Philadelphia."

Letitia Court was named for Letitia Penn, daughter of William Penn. Located there was the brick house, now known as the Letitia Penn House, which is a landmark in Fairmount Park, in view of all who cross the Schuylkill

on the Pennsylvania Railroad, when on their way from Philadelphia to New York.

Regular physicians also sometimes inserted cards. William Henderson, Practitioner in Physick and Surgery, proposed "with God's permission to Embark towards Europe in a short time." Therefore he asked payment of debts without loss of time.

A week earlier the paper announced:

"These are to give notice that Matthew Cowley, a Skinner by Trade, is Removed from Chestnut Street, to dwell in Walnut Street, near the Bridg, where all Persons May have their Buck and Doe Skins Drest, after the best Manner, and at reasonable Rates, he also dresses White Leather and can furnish you with bindings for bodies of all Colours, at Reasonable Rates."

John Copson was a dealer in all sorts of goods. His medals on "metal beautiful as Gold" did not keep him busy, so he announced:

"Lately Imported from England a choice parcel of very good Fowling Peices, and Chambered Bullet Gunns, to be Sold wholesale and Retale."

The Copson store was also headquarters for books of merit:

"The Life and Works of the Most Ilustrious and Pious Armand de Bourbon, Prince of Conti. To which is added a Discourse on Christian Perfection, by the Author of Telemachus."

This early bookseller made a distinct appeal to the young:

"Sober-Mindedness Pressed upon Young People, by the late Matthew Henry, a book very Necessary for Youth of all Perswasions."

From London came Nehemiah Bounder, and announced

that he had taken his stand at the Pump, at the corner of First and Market Street, near to the House of Mr. Thomas Chase, and that he would make "Men's Cloathes after the best Manner, Very reasonable, where Merchants, Brewers, Silversmiths, Sadlers, Shoemakers, Soap Boilers, Blacksmiths and Hatters, may have their Work done by way of Barter and Exchange."

The query naturally arises concerning Teachers, Editors, Clergymen and Farmers: would it be necessary for them to go to some other tailor, because Mr. Bounder had no use for the goods they could offer in exchange?

The wails of the unfortunate were duly heard in the paper. One woman told her sorrow:

"Lost, Last Fryday, between Benjamin's Ferry and Philadelphia, a lightish Coloured Cinnamon Riding Hood, lined with a Yellowish Dalloon, Faced on the Head with silk of a Cinamon colour. Those that will give Intelligence of the same to the Printer hereof shall be fully satisfied for their pains."

It was a man who told of his anxiety:

"Lost on Saturday night last, between Mr. Carpenter's Wharff and the Coffee House, An oval Snuff-box, Tortoise Shell top and bottom, inlaid with Gold, a Bird on the Top and 3 small men on bottom, a Picture within side, and silver linings. Whoever will bring or send the said box to Andrew Bradford in the Second Street, shall have a Pistol reward, and no questions asked."

The note of suspicion in the card of the owner of the snuff box became certainty in a card of April 30, 1730:

"Whereas Christ Church in Philadelphia was broke open on Monday or Tuesday Night, the 20th or 21st instant, by some Prophane Wretch, who like Brutus, abused some things belonging to the said church, and Stole

from the Reading Desk one large Bible and one Common Prayer Book in Folio, and another in Octavo. These are to give notice, that who ever will discover the Author of such Villany, so as he, or they, may be brought to justice, should be amply rewarded by the Church-Warden and Vestry of the said Church."

The pessimism evident in the plea that the "Prophane Wretch" be brought to justice was still more evident in a gem of a quatrain sent in by a contributor, and printed close to the advertising columns:

> "In a thick Shade, the Owl, the Bat
> And other Night Birds met to chat,
> They railed like Ladies o'er their Tea,
> And nothing passed from Censure free."

Another contributor suggested a sure way to protect society from people who could be censured:

"If you would have your Children Virtuous and Good, show them the Beauty and Advantage of Virtuous Action. Let them see the decency of Modesty and Chastity, Sobriety and Temperance, inculcate the Credit and Reputation of Justice, Truth and Honesty, and the Temporal and Eternal Advantage of Piety and Religion: and be sure you keep up to the Rules and Maxims you Teach them; otherwise they will soon discover the inconsistency of your Teaching and Conduct, and be led to doubt of the Truth you would Instruct them in."

Thus a study of the papers of two centuries ago indicates that human nature is much the same to-day as then.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL BEGINNINGS

IN AN old volume of the records of the Town of Hartford, Connecticut, dated December 6, 1642, there is an odd entry:

"It is agreed that thurte pound a yeer shall be seatled for the scools by the toune for efer."

The sum does not seem large, even for a community so small that the men in charge of its affairs long found it advisable and possible to receive the applications of those who wished to live in the community and to tell men and women to depart when it was thought that their usefulness was past. But there were surely some who complained of the waste of the public funds. "Thirty pounds for a school! It is absurd!" they may have thought.

New Haven citizens, too, had their opportunity to rejoice in the provision for schools, or to find fault with the awful extravagance, according to their temper. For when the school system was established by the legislature in 1644, it was decreed that every town containing fifty families must have a school in which reading and writing were taught, and that towns containing one hundred families must have a grammar school. In 1658 the figure was made thirty families for a primary school and fifty families for a grammar school. To make matters better—or worse, in the minds of some—a law of 1672 ordained that every county town, regardless of population, must have

a school where a teacher could prepare his pupils for college.

Hartford, too, continued to make provision for educational advance. On February 14, 1648, an entry was made in the town records, noting that "the necessitys of the Towne and the desire of many" called "for some provision to be made for the keeping of a Scool with better conveniency than hitherto hath been attayned." So it was agreed that "forty pounds should be payd in the way of a rate for erecting a school building." But it was distinctly understood, and so stated, that this amount was inadequate, "yett being conceaved to fall much short of attayning ye end in building such a house as may be sutable for the sayd Imployment." So provision was made that, if any should desire to give more than the rate, the building "finished either in tymber or brick" should not be diverted to any other use, without the consent of the donors.

Curious provisions were made for the payment of the tuition required in addition to the rates. "A generall Toune Metting" in "Aprill," 1643, ordered that Mr. Androwes "should teach the Scool the yere nextt ensewing," and that "the Tounsmen shall go and inquier who will engage them Selves to Send their Children & all yt do So Shall pay for one quarter at the leaste, & for more if they do send thereafter."

Further provision was made for contingencies, so that no one could have any excuse for misunderstanding his obligations: "If they go a weake more than an euen quarter they shall pay 6d per week."

Then followed words that made education free for those who could not pay: "If any would send thare Children & are not abell to pay for the Teaching: they shall

giue Note of it to the townsmen & they shall pay it at the Towne's Charges." And, finally, it was understood that it was the duty of the schoolmaster to keep an account and send statements to the parents.

When tuition was paid, the obligation of the parents was not ended, as appears from the record of a meeting on November 2, 1713, when it was "Voted that every person who Shall Send their Children or Servants to the said School, Shall from the first day of November to the last day of March, be obliged to carry one Load of wood for Each Child to the School house within one fortnight after their children or Servants shall goe to school." Fines were provided for failure to pay—four shillings for each child.

Philadelphia was only seven years old when the Friends of Penn's town by the Delaware planned a school for rich and poor. At a meeting on May 26, 1789, they "Agreed with George Keith to assure him a certain salary of 50 pounds, per year, to be paid quarterly, also to have the profit of his school, that his income might be 120 pounds a year. In return he promised 'to teach the poor (which are not of ability to pay) for nothing.' "

It is evident that the new school prospered, for in the following November complaint was made of the "inconvenience and straitness" of the school building.

The first Friends' School was supported, in part, by voluntary subscriptions, though, later on, legacies became a dependence. This was true also in Connecticut; a Hartford town record of December 16, 1712, told of a legacy by Edward Hopkins, "formerly of Hartford," who made a bequest "for the Encouragement of Learning in New England." Petitioners to the selectmen being of opinion "that part of the said Legacy belongs to the Grammer

School in the Town," a committee was appointed to see if the funds could not be secured.

Volunteer school teachers were plentiful. In the *American Weekly Mercury,* printed by William Bradford in Philadelphia, beginning in 1719, the advertisements of schoolteachers were present almost from the beginning.

One of the first to appear offered services that were looked at askance by some readers:

"Take Notice: There is lately arrived in the city a person who truly offers his services to teach his poor Brethren the Male Negroes to read the Holy Scriptures &c, in a very uncommon, expeditious and delightful Manner, without any manner of Expense to their Respective Masters or Mistresses. All Serious Persons, whether Roman Catholicks, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, or People called Quakers, who are truly concern'd for their Salvation, may advise with the said Person at his Lodgings (relating to the Time and Place of his so instructing Them) at the Dwelling-House of John Read, Carpenter in High Street, Philadelphia, every morning till Eight of the Clock, except on the Seventh Day.

"The Great Jehovah from above,
Whose Christian Name is Light and Love,
In all his Works will take Delight,
And wash poor Hagar's Black Moors White.

"Let none condemn the Undertaking,
By silent Thought, or noisy Speach,
They're Fools, whose bolts soon shot, upon
This mark, they're looked but little on."

An advertiser who was very frankly worldly in all his offerings said:

"The Art of Dancing carefully Taught (as it is now Practiced at Court) by Samuel Pierpoint at his School next door to Mr. Brindley's, Hatter in Chestnut Street; where for the recreation of all Gentlemen and Ladies, There will be Country-Dances every Thursday Evening; likewise he Teaches small Sword. Any Gentleman that has a Desire to learn in Private, he will wait upon them, and is always to be spoken with at his School, from Eight 'till Eleven in the Morning, and from Three in the afternoon till six in the Evenings. N. B. He taught both accomplishments in Jamaica."

A schoolmaster who was leaving the city, perhaps because his income was too small to keep him, said on November 14, 1728:

"Thomas Phipps of the city, Schoolmaster, desiring (God willing) to leave off keeping School on the 25th of February next, and to depart the Province by the last of the aforesaid month, Thinketh it proper to inform all concerned, that they who have any demands on him may come, or send, and secure the same; and they who are indebted to him may Discharge the same, when come for, to prevent further trouble. N. B. All Children whose Quarter will Expire before that time, or whose Quarter will not Expire by that time, may be continued by the week at the Quarterly rate if it may so please their Parents or Masters. By your obliged Humble Servant, Thomas Phipps."

Among the notable schools of early days in the Colonies was that near Tilghman's Neck, in Queen Anne's County, Maryland. In 1724 this was taught in a building "35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 10 feet pitch, between the

floor and roof proportionable, the walls of good well burnt bricks, well laid in mortar." Fireplaces, doors and windows were provided, and it is especially notable that the windows had weights and pulleys. There were "good cypress shingles," a "pare of suitable stares," and a closet. The cost of the edifice was £100.

The school taught in the building was, according to the order of the Assembly of 1723, to be in charge of the Visitors of the Free School of Queen Anne's County. These Visitors could not have taken themselves more seriously if they had known that some of the pupils under their direction, as well as some of the masters whom they supervised, were to become men of note in the Colony, and even in the nation which was to grow out of the Colonies.

The Visitors were charged to see that the master, who had many acres at his disposal, did not cultivate tobacco on any of it. He was to be "a minister of the Church of England and of pious and exemplary life and capable of teaching well the grammar, good writing and the mathematics." No wonder it was thought wise to add to the list of requirements the words, "If such can conveniently be got."

The first master taught English, Latin, writing, and arithmetic. His salary was twenty pounds per year. In addition to the children appointed by the Visitors, who were known as Foundation Scholars, the master was allowed to enroll others, and to charge tuition for them.

The hours were long and inconvenient—from 7 to 11 in the morning, and from 1 to 5 in the afternoon, from April to September, and from 8 to 11 and 1 to 4 for the remainder of the year. No vacations or holidays were provided until 1775.

NASSAU HALL, COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY

(The Original Building of Princeton University. Erected in 1757) (See page 75)

OLD OCTAGON SCHOOLHOUSE, NEAR PHILADELPHIA

One day a Visitor saw boys shooting at a mark with guns. So the boys were told to keep their guns at home, and the master was instructed to punish any who disobeyed.

Once, when a teacher was needed, an advertisement was sent to the *Pennsylvania Journal:*

"Whereas a Master is wanted in Queen Anne's County free school any gentleman who can teach the English, Latin and Greek Languages, reading, writing & arithmetic, will meet with encouragement by applying to the Visitors of said school; 100 acres of land belong to said school about 60 of which are under good fence with a good dwelling house 40 x 22 feet two rooms below stares and as many above, a cellar under one half of the house and two small outhouses besides the school house, which is large and commodious situate in a thick settled neighborhood where are a good number of children."

The support of the school came from public funds, though these were supplemented by an additional duty of 20 shillings on each "Irish servant being Papists, to prevent the growth of popery by the importation of too great a number of them into the province," and also "20 shillings per poll on all negroes inported into the province." Then a man who killed a deer was fined for the school fund, and a white man who married a negro had to do something to help education.

One of the textbooks used in the school in its later years was probably the Philadelphia edition of Du Fresnoy's *Geography for Youth,* a book published in France in 1716.

The book was prepared for the use of boys and girls in schools, but the author added to his preface the follow-

ing hints on "How to Learn Geography Without a Master":

"The person who desires to learn Geography must have a set of maps and after reading over each lesson in the book, he should be very exact in finding out, on the map, the several places mentioned in the lesson; and then, by reading the lesson over several times, and always comparing the book with the map, any grown person may soon know the most remarkable places in the world, their situation, boundaries, etc., and will insensibly by degrees remember the names of them, even without getting the lesson by heart, which is absolutely necessary for children to do, but may be thought too great a trouble by persons grown to years of maturity, and may not be always necessary. Now all this knowledge may be acquired in so short a time as two months by allowing an hour every day to one lesson only, as there are in all but sixty-five lessons; and that not an hour of trouble and fatigue, but of amusement and pleasure."

There was but one map in the book, that of the two hemispheres. In general the continents were outlined with a fair degree of accuracy, though North America was made to extend to the North Pole, Florida and Southern California were not well represented, and the Mississippi River was given a strange course. Australia was put down only in the most general manner.

The countries of the world were numbered on the map, and on the margin the numbers were provided with a key. There were twenty-two numbers for North and South America: New Scotland (Nova Scotia), New England (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont,) New York, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Florida, New Wales (west of Hudson Bay), Canada (south of the Bay), New Britain

(west of the Bay), Greenland (a part of the mainland), California, Mexico or Spain, and the countries of South America, including Terra Firma, Guiana, Amazona, Brazil, Paraguay, Magellanica, Chili, and Peru.

On the map of Africa strange countries like Biledulgarid (to the north of Zara or the Desert) and Negroland were indicated.

Fifteen pages, or about one-tenth of the volume, were filled with information about North America, South America, and the islands near by, less than ten pages being given to North America. The question-and-answer method was used altogether; "children's memories are helped by clear and short questions," the author said in his preface. He felt, too, that this was the best for grown people to learn the facts they needed to know, "to entertain company about them," for "how shameful it is for a gentleman or lady, though in many other respects well educated, to ask whether Holland does not lie in the direct road from Paris to Rome"!

To the question, "What is America?" the reply was given, "The fourth part of the world, called also the New World, or West Indies, and is divided by the isthmus of Panama into North and South, beside the American islands."

North America was divided into three parts, "1st, countries but little known, situated near Hudsons Bay; and likewise those at the back of the European settlements. 2nd, Colonies established by the English and French, from the 50th degree of North latitude to the tropic of Cancer. 3d, countries belonging to Spain."

It was stated that "the greatest part of North America" was made up of "countries yet undiscovered, which extend quite across that Continent to the North Pacific

Ocean, the sea of Kamtschatka and the straits which separate this division of the globe from the northern shores of Asia." A note added the information: "The world is principally indebted to the exertion of Captain Cook for the discovery of the greatest part of the shores of this extensive country, which, from its situation, is generally imagined to be equal in fertility to the cultivated Colonies on the Atlantic Ocean."

There were 200,000 inhabitants in the Colony of New York, according to the book, while New Jersey had 130,000 people, Pennsylvania 350,000, Maryland 200,000, Virginia 600,000, and North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia 40,000.

The area of many of the Colonies was stated as being far less than it really was. To New York were given 24,000 square miles, to Pennsylvania (including Delaware) 15,000, to New Jersey 10,000, to Maryland 12,000, to Virginia, 80,000, and to North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia 110,000.

Of Florida all that was said was: "This large, but till lately little known province, belongs to the Spaniards, its chief towns are St. Augustine and St. Matthews."

"New France" was said to be "a large tract of ground about the river St. Lawrence, divided into east and west, called Mississippi or Louisiana." The east part, "besides Canada properly so called, contains divers nations; the chief of which are the Esquinals, Christinals, Hurons, Algonquins, Etchemins and Iroquois."

The west part of New France was said to be "a large country west of the river Canada, or St. Lawrence, the river Mississippi runs through it, and it is called Louisia, from Louis the fourteenth. Its chief habitation is Fort Orleans." Here, it was stated, "the air is much the same

as in Old England; the soil generally fertile, producing all sorts of English grain, fruits and roots, besides Indian corn. It is well stocked with fish and fowl, with plenty of tame and wild beasts. The inhabitants are reckoned to be above one hundred thousand. Their chief commodities are fish, grain, masts for ships, deal-boards, iron, tar, beaver, mouse-skins, furs, etc."

The chief rivers and towns of the Colonies were named. Many towns were spoken of which to-day are quite unknown or are so small that a modern geographer would not think of speaking of them.

The western boundary of all the Colonies south of Maryland was given as the Mississippi River.

But perhaps the oddest observation made in the book was the following:

"Even young ladies in two months' time may be instructed in the rudiments of Geography and be able to give a pertinent answer to questions, that they would blush if they were unable to resolve."

One of the educators who was familiar with Du Fresnoy's book was Benjamin Franklin. Ordinarily the patriot was not thought of as an educator. But, among his many claims to fame, is his record as a friend and patron of schools.

In 1749 he printed a book on his own press which he called *Proposals as to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*. This he began by saying, "The good education of Youth has been esteemed by wise men in all ages, as the Surest Foundation of the Happiness both of private Families and of the Common-wealth."

He called attention to the fact that "many of the first settlers of the Province were men who had received a good Education in Europe," and that "to their wisdom

and good management" much of the country's prosperity was due. Yet these men were so busy, "their Hands were full, and they could not do all things," so "the present Race are not thought to be generally of equal ability." Therefore he longed to see the day when the youth would receive an adequate education, since "the best Capacities require cultivation, it being truly with them, as with the best Ground, which unless well tilled and sowed with profitable Seed, produces only rank weeds."

These considerations led him to suggest that a charter be asked for an academy, to be located, if "not in the Town, not many miles from it; the situation high and dry, and if it may be, not far from a River, having a Garden, Orchard, Meadows and a field or two."

After telling of the equipment needed for such a school, Franklin went on: "That the Rector be a man of good understanding, good Morals, diligent and patient, learn'd in the Languages and Science, as well as a good Speaker, and Master of the English Tongue."

He thought it essential "that the boarding scholars diet together, plainly, temperately, and frugally," that all take regular exercise; that they be taught "everything that is useful and every Thing that is ornamental." But, since "art is long and Time is short," it was "propos'd that they learn the Things that are likely to be most useful and not ornamental."

The curriculum laid down by the Colonial sage is of interest. Pupils should be taught to "write a fair Hand"; they should know something of drawing, arithmetic, accounts, and some of the first principles of Geometry and Astronomy. The English language should be taught by acquaintance with "some of our best writers, as Tillotson, Addison, Pope, Algernon Sidney, Cato's Letters"; there

should be Classick Reading, pronunciation. Stile, History, Geography, "ancient Customs," Morality, should have place. In teaching history emphasis should be laid on the place of Public Religion and Civil Government. Natural History should be taught in connection with practical work —Gardening, Planting, etc. The History of Commerce should not be neglected, and all should be taught to answer the question, "What is true Merit?"

In 1750 Franklin appealed to the Common Council of Philadelphia for authority to begin his academy, which should educate all the youth of Pennsylvania, attract students from neighboring provinces, and qualify students for magistracies and to act as schoolmasters. Councils agreed to give £200 in cash for the purpose, as well as £50 a year for five years. There was to be paid also £50 for the right of sending one scholar each year from the Charity School to the Academy.

The charter followed in 1753, a college was chartered in 1755, and the way was thus made plain for an institution that, in 1793, became a recognized part of the University of Pennsylvania, an institution where to-day thousands of students gather in buildings "not far from a river," on a campus that includes among its other attractions one of the most delightful gardens in or about Philadelphia.

The educational longings of the pioneers of Massachusetts had found expression in Harvard College, a dream that was not forgotten from the day when the words were written in *New England's First Fragments:*

"After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our homes, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things

we longed for, and looked after, was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the church, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."

So, in 1636, the first appropriation for the longed-for school was made, and in 1638, it was named for Reverend John Harvard, who bequeathed to the college one half his fortune and his entire library.

More than sixty years later Connecticut's education lovers triumphantly founded their institution, Yale College, which was started at Killingworth, Saybrook, and Wethersfield, but was removed to New Haven in 1716.

The outline of the course at Yale in early days seems rather meager in the light of present-day standards:

Freshman Class

Virgil, Cicero's Orations, Greek Testament, Ward's Arithmetic.

Sophomore Class

Greek Testament, Horace, Lowth's English Grammar, Watts' Logic, Guthrie's Geography, Hammond's Algebra, Holmes's Rhetoric, Ward's Geometry, Vincent's Catechism, Ward's Mathematics.

Junior Class

Ward's Trigonometry, Atkinson & Wilson's Trigonometry, Greek Testament, Cicero's Orations, Martin's Phil. Grammar & Philosophy, 3 Vol., Vincent's Catechism.

Senior Class

Locke's Human Understanding, Wollaston's Relative Nature Delineated, Wollebius's Greek Testament, Edwards on the Will, President Clap's Ethics.

The two upper classes, instead of being called Junior and Senior, were known as Junior Sophister and Senior Sophister. And the change from a lower class to a higher was made, not in June, but in September, when the Seniors were graduated. After Commencement there was a six weeks' vacation. About the middle of January began a vacation of three weeks. Early in May began a vacation of one month. School kept during the summer.

The salary of the man who guided the college from 1777 to 1795 was one hundred and twenty pounds sterling a year, or less than six hundred dollars.

Expenses at the college were not large, but added to the regular expenses were fines that must have seemed very high. Students were not allowed to row or sail on the harbor, and if they disobeyed they were compelled to pay a fine of thirty-four cents. Dancing assemblies were forbidden, and those who attended them were fined fifty-eight cents for each offense.

The difficulties of dancing assemblies are evident from an extract from the Journal of President Stiles, telling of events that stirred up much comment:

"A great Contest has arisen between the young Sirs and Collegians on one side and Gentlemen in Town, chiefly of academic Education & some merchants on the other. It has been customary for those who graduated at Commencement to have a Ball in the State house, the Evening following, & invite their Friends & Relations—this produced a promiscuous assembly. The Gentlemen of the Town are desirous of a politer ball for Gentlemen of the army & other strangers, & claimed the Court-house. Half a dozen Bachelors of Arts, residing in Town chiefly & not in College, joined in a separation from their College Brethren, & among the rest Sir —— who spake with

less Delicacy than was prudent upon the Candidates & their Company. This excited the Resentment of all College. On Monday night last, the Undergraduates in disguise took him under the College Pump—a high Indignity to any & especially towards a Graduate. He, instead of entering a Complaint to the College Authority, complained to the Grand Jury & obtained a Presentment; & also brot an action at common Law for one thousand pounds Damages."

The man who was most damaged by these events was the president, whose best efforts were given to showing the students how to live. For this service he was prepared by the training of his own children. He had five daughters. Betsy was twenty-two, while Polly, the youngest, was thirteen. Of a part of their training he wrote:

"My daughter Ruth from 1775 to 1793, or in 18 years, has read her Bible fourteen times through; and my granddaughter Eliza, age 11, has read it through five times; my daughter Emilie has lost her minutes but has probably read it a dozen times & more; my other children have read it sundry times. . . . My family have had full opportunity of being acquainted with the sacred Contents of the Bible."

The first institution of higher learning in America to receive a royal charter was William and Mary College at Williamsburg, Virginia, which dated from 1693. It is famous for the men who have attended its classes and for others who have taught them. During the Revolution the president was James Madison, second cousin of the future President of the United States. George Washington was Chancellor in 1788; Chief-Justice John Marshall was a student in 1781, while Secretary of State Edmund

Randolph, President James Monroe, and President John Tyler enrolled in the classic halls.

Harvard and William and Mary and Yale were all flourishing when the College of New Jersey occupied its first building in 1757, eleven years after the founding of the institution—the building which, in 1777, was held by the British, and, in 1783, was used by the Continental Congress. The President of that Congress sent for Washington and gave him the message that visitors to Nassau Hall think of in connection with the venerable building:

"In other nations, many have performed eminent services, for which they have deserved the thanks of the public. But to you, Sir, peculiar praise is due. Your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country. They deserve the grateful acknowledgment of a free and independent nation."

Two years after the delivery of that address to the country's savior, the oldest state university in America was chartered in the youngest of the original thirteen states—the University of Georgia. The Legislature of 1784 set apart 20,000 acres of land in Washington and Franklin Counties, to be held and sold for the endowment of the proposed seminary of learning. While the college was not opened until 1801, its lands increased in value, and before long it had a good income from the proceeds of them. It was begun as Franklin College, in a log building erected for the purpose in the town of Athens, laid out as the site of the institution. And in 1804 the first class, of ten men, graduated.

Another notable first—the first endowed seminary for young women—was opened in 1837 by Mary Lyon, who

for years had treasured a daring vision. She knew that there were numbers of seminaries for young women which were doing good work for those who attended, but they were not permanent institutions. They were merely private schools, without endowment. They might flourish for a decade or a generation—then they would be gone. As she thought of this her heart was stirred by the vision of an endowed institution for young women, an institution under Christian auspices, where those of small means could secure an education on equal terms with their more prosperous sisters.

It was only a vision at first, a vision in which she tried to interest others. But it was hard to convince the public of the desirability of such a school. Religious papers refused to print her letters on the subject; men of influence turned away from her pleas; but she consecrated her life to the work of establishing the school of her vision. She prayed over her plans—and from her knees she rose believing that God would enable her to carry her plan to completion. She was offered other schools at large salaries, but she was resolved to do this work, and never to receive more than $200 a year and board.

After a long, hard fight she succeeded in her efforts. Mount Holyoke Seminary was incorporated in 1836. The cornerstone was laid at South Hadley, Massachusetts, in October following. A few days later, Miss Lyon wrote: "I have, indeed, lived to see the time when a body of gentlemen have ventured to lay the cornerstone of a building which will cost fifteen thousand dollars, and will be an institution for the education of females. Surely God hath remembered our estate. This will be an era in female education."

During the long and honored history of this first endowed institution for young women, thousands of girls have been educated there, and hundreds of similar institutions have been founded. So Mary Lyon's name has been written indelibly in the history of woman's education.

CHAPTER V

PIONEER TRAVELERS OF A HUNDRED YEARS

WHY is it that Americans travel so much more than Europeans? Probably when the Pilgrim Fathers or the emigrants to Virginia lived in England, most of them remained at home, or confined their journeys within a radius of a few miles. Was it the long and adventurous voyage to the new home that wrought a change in them, marking them with the restlessness that has ever since, and more and more, been characteristic of so many dwellers in America?

Communication was difficult, but they did not stay at home because the roads were bad. Distances between Colonies were great, but the long miles did not deter them from satisfying their curiosity as to the life and surroundings of others—curiosity which they could satisfy only by tedious travel. Perils from wild beasts and from savage Indians awaited them, but dangers from both were faced calmly and as a matter of course.

At first the journeys were from one settlement to another. Then a daring man sought another Colony, perhaps for profit, but sometimes merely to be on the go. Soon pioneers were pushing far back into the forest, fording streams, making trails, crossing mountains—somehow they found the way to get to the place that lured them on.

Naturally some of these travelers wrote of their experiences, and fortunately some of their diaries have come

down to us. They are among our richest treasures from the days of yesterday. The study of them frequently provokes smiles because of the racy manner of telling of the daily experiences, as well as matter-of-fact references to adventures that to the reader seem remarkable, though to those who told of them they were mere routine incidents of days when anything was expected, when nothing caused surprise. But along with the smiles and the shivers comes joy for the wonderful development of the country in more than two centuries.

There are accounts of earlier journeys than that taken by Sarah Knight, but the record of her trip in the year 1704 from Boston to New York and return is so circumstantial and so human that it is a classic in the annals of pioneer experiences.

The first stage of her journey was from Boston to New Haven. There the keeper of the journal rested some weeks. In December she set out once more. Listen to her own story of what followed:

"Being by this time well Recruited and rested after my Journy, my business lying unfinished by some concerns at New York depending thereupon, my Kinsman, Mr. Thomas Trowbridge of New Haven, must needs take a Journy there before it could be accomplished, I resolved to go there in company with him and a man of the town which I engaged to wait on me there. Accordingly, Dec. 6th we set out from New Haven, and about 11 same morning came to Stratford Ferry; which crossing, about two miles on the other side Baited our horses and would have eat a morsel ourselves. But the Pumpkin and Indian mixt Bred had such an aspect, and the Bare-legg'd Punch so awkerd or rather Awfull a sound, that we left both, and proceeded forward, and about seven at night come to

Fairfield, where we met with good entertainment and Lodg'd; and early next morning set forward to Norowalk, from its halfe Indian name *North-walk,* when about 12 at noon we arrive and Had a Dinner of Fryed Venison, very savoury. Landlady wanting some pepper in the seasoning, bid the Girl hand her the spice in the little *Gay* cupp on ye shelfe."

Who but a woman would have been able to add a touch like that to the narration of a stop at a roadside tavern! She made further revelation of Colonial cooking:

"From hence we Hasted toward Rye, walking and Leading our Horses neer a mile together, up a prodigios high Hill; and so Riding till about nine at night, and there arrived and took up our Lodgings at an ordinary, which a French family kept. Here being very hungry, I desired a fricasee which the Frenchman undertakeing, managed so contrary to my notion of Cookery that I hastened to Bed superless; And being shewd the way up a pair of stairs which had such a narrow passage that I had almost stopt by the Bulk of my Body, But arriving at my apartment found it to be a little Lento Chamber furnisht amongst other Rubbish with a High Bedd and a Low one, a Long Table, a Bench and a Bottomless chair,—Little Miss went to scratch up my Kennel which Russelled as if shee'd bin in the Barn amongst the Husks, and supose such was the contents of the tickin—nevertheless being exceeding weary, down I laid my poor Carkes (never more tired) and found my Covering as scanty as my Bed was hard."

But she was not to have at once the sleep she so much craved, after the toilsome journey and the French fricasee which she did not eat:

"Annon I heard another Russelling noise in Ye Room —called to know the matter—Little miss said shee was

A PRIMITIVE FERRY THAT SURVIVES TODAY

NEW LINE OF
STAGES.

Winter Establishment.

This Line will commence running on the 16th inst. from Providence to Worcester, through Smithfield and Uxbridge, twice a week. Viz:

LEAVES Providence Tuesdays and Fridays, at 7 o'clock, A. M. and arrives in Worcester same Evenings.....RETURNING.....Leaves Worcester Wednesdays and Saturdays, and arrives in Providence the same Evenings.

N. B.—This La[illegible] New-Hampshire, Mail Coaches, leaving Worcester on Wednesdays for the same place.

Books kept at Wesson's, Providence, R. I. at Farnham's, Smithfield, Slatersville, and at How and White's, Worcester, Mass.

FARE THREE DOLLARS.....CUSTOMARY WEIGHT OF BAGGAGE ALLOWED.

A. WESSON & SONS.
JOB N. TUTTLE.

Providence, Oct. 9, 1821.

AN EARLY STAGECOACH HANDBILL

making a bed for the men; who, when they were in Bed, complained their leggs lay out of it by reason of its shortness—my poor bones complained bitterly not being used to such Lodgings, and so did the man who was with us; and poor I made but one Grone, which was from the time I went to bed to the time I Riss, which was about three in the morning, Setting up by the Fire till Light, and having discharged our ordinary which was as dear as if we had far Better fare—we took our leaves of Monsier and about seven in the morn came to New Rochell a french town, where we had a good Breakfast. And in the strength of that about an how'r before sunsett got to York. Here I applyd myself to Mr. Burroughs, a merchant to whom I was recommended by my Kinsman Capt. Prout, and received great Civilities from him and his spouse, who were now both Deaf but very agreeable in their Conversation, Diverting me with pleasant stories of their Knowledge in Brittan from whence they both came."

On December 21, 1704, the two travelers left New York for New Haven. The adventures of the first day and night are recorded:

"We hoped to reach the french town and Lodg there that night, but unhapily lost our way about four miles short, and being overtaken by a great storm of wind and snow which set full in our faces about dark, we were very uneasy. But meeting one Gardner who lived in a Cottage thereabout, offered us his fire to set by, having but one poor Bedd, and his wife not well, &c. or he would go to a House with us, where he thought we might be better accommodated—thither we went. But a surly old shee Creature, not worthy the name of woman, who would hardly let us go into her Door, though the weather was

so stormy none but shee would have turnd out a Dogg. But her son whose name was gallop, who lived Just by Invited us to his house."

Weeks later, when near Boston, there were further adventures, due to a flood:

"The next day wee come to a river which by Reason of Ye Freshetts coming down was swell'd so high wee fear'd it impassable and the rapid stream was very terryfying—However we must over and that in a small Canoo. Mr. Rogers assuring me of his good Conduct, I after a stay of near an how'r on the shore for consultation went into the Canoo, and Mr. Rogers paddled about 100 yards up the Creek by the shore side, turned into the swift stream and dexterously steering her in a moment wee came to the other side as swiftly passing as an arrow shott out of the Bow by a strong arm. I staid on ye shore till Hee returned to fetch our horses, which he caused to swim over himself bringing the furniture in the Cannoo. But it is past my skill to express the Exceeding fright all these transactions formed in me."

Boston was near, but difficulties were by no means at an end:

"Wee were now in the colony of the Massachusetts and taking Lodgings at the first Inn we come too had a pretty difficult passage the next day which was the second of March by reason of the sloughy ways then thawed by the Sunn. Here I mett Capt. John Richards of Boston who was going home, So being very glad of his Company we Rode something harder than hitherto, and missing my way in going up a very steep Hill, my horse dropt down under me as Dead; this new surprise no little hurt me meeting it Just at the Entrance into Dedham from whence we intended to reach home that night. But was now

obliged to gett another Hors there and leave my own, resolving for Boston that night if possible. But in going over the Causeway at Dedham the Bridge being overflowed by the high waters coming down I very narrowly escaped falling over into the river Hors and all which twas almost a miracle I did not—now it grew late in the afternoon and the people having very much discouraged us about the sloughy way which they said we should find very difficult and hazardous it so wrought on mee being tired and dispirited and disapointed of my desires of going home that I agreed to Lodg there that night which wee did at the house of one Draper, and the next day being March 3d wee got safe home to Boston."

As soon as there were travelers, there were highwaymen. The *American Weekly Mercury* of March 17, 1720, told of a wayfarer's adventure with four of these knights of the road:

"About ten days ago, one Bradshaw of Duck Creek in Kent County, Riding on the Road between Philadelphia and Darby, was met by four High way men, two on Horse back and two on foot; one of them rid up to the said Bradshaw, clapt a Pistol to his Brest, and bid him deliver his Money, or he was a Dead Man, the other 3 having surrounded him, and he seeing no way to escape told them he had but two Pistoles, and he hopes they would spare him since they were to bear his Expence on the Journey, They told him *Not to prate,* but deliver his Money, or . . . they wou'd shoot him immediately. The poor Man was obliged to Comply."

One of the richest records of travel in the Colonies is the diary of the journey made by William Logan, Quaker, from Philadelphia to Georgia, for the purpose of meeting other Friends, visiting the Meetings, and learning how

they fared. His story is remarkable for many things, but particularly for the number of unpleasant people he met, and the remarks he made on food, the lack of it, the presence of it, the badness of it, the goodness of it. It is evident that he thought a good deal of the well-being of his own—probably portly—body.

He had not gone far from Philadelphia when he "mett with an Impudent Negro Woman." Soon afterward he found "as unmannerly cross a Landlady as ever I met with." Again he spoke of "as cross and ill-natured a Landlady as one would desire." The poor man also "fell in with an impudent fellow who called himself a Gentleman, but was very abusive with his Tongue." Then, at a ferry in North Carolina, he was annoyed becaused he had to wait two hours for the coming of a woman on horseback who, after she had come up, told the travelers about her that she came from Boston. The statement is added "She was a forward, bold Hussy." (But he does not explain whether her boldness was due to her hailing from Boston, or in spite of the fact.)

Near the beginning of his journey, Mr. Logan spoke of the fact that there were "no publick Houses, so that Travellers are obliged to impose on Gentlemen, a practice I cannot yet come to." But he did come to it very bravely. When in the Carolinas he was ready to impose on a woman whose house was near the road. "Came to Poole's . . . but tho' I let his wife know in the plainest terms I well could without begging that we should want entertainment, there being no publick House on the Road, yet she neither had the good nature nor Manners to ask us to come in or eat, but directed us the road to the Ferry, about 16 miles farther, and by her direction we missed our road about

7 miles & got no kind of Victuals for ourselves or our Horses, till about 5 o'clock."

Now listen to the good words and the wailings by the Philadelphian as to the food he was offered, and the beds on which he slept:

"After dining on Fryed Pork and drinking a glass of Wine or two, sett Out & came to Skidmore where we Lodged on a tolerable Good Bed, a very nasty room, supp'd & breakfasted the next morning on Vile Chocolate which did not Agree with me. Came to Dinner to the Widow Stevenson's, a poor, ill-natured Woman, who killed some fowls & made some Broth at my request as I thought it would agree with me. . . . Everything was so nasty. . . .

"Breakfasted—Tea—very good, but very long in getting. . . . A dinner of Cold Pork and Apple Pye. . . . Breakfasting on Fried Oysters & cold Roast Beef, and afterwards on Coffee, a thing common in this Country (Virginia)."

The experience at Suffolk, Virginia, deserves a paragraph of its own.

"There was a handsome dinner on the Table at the House of our party on the acct. of a great number of people gathered at the sale of a parcell of choice English Goods by Vandue, belonging to one Theophilious Pugh, a man of the greatest note in these parts, but now to all appearances entirely broke. Thus we dined heartily, & had Good English Beer & good Wine, as also English Bread, being the second time we have eat since we left Pennsylvania."

His first good word for those who gave him lodging was spoken when, on the border between Virginia and North Carolina, he found himself in the house of a Friend,

where there were "8 or 9 Spare Beds." He paid for his lodging by saying, "The people here are Very Kind to Strangers and Travellers."

Later he "put up at a handsome Tavern," where he had "good Wine & Beer, & every other thing that was necessary." Soon after he had "chicken boiled in a very nasty manner for Dinner." Next the poor fellow "was vilely entertained, having nothing but Potato Bread mixed with Indian Corn & rank Irish Butter." As if this was not bad enough, he "had the worst Wheat Bread I ever saw, being made of nothing but what we call Shorts." This sorrow was forgotten because he "had the good Luck to meet with a canoe of fine Fish, just Caught." So the party had fish for supper, "and afterwards like Gentlemen," he and his fellow traveler had "a Glass or two of good Madeira Wine." Lest it be thought that his privations in the country were not so great after all, he hastily added, "but it must be remembered that we brought it with us from Philadelphia."

More privations. "The woman, tho' she told us we might have anything for dinner we pleased, had nothing in the house, not even Bread of any Kind, nor had had, as she said, for several days, living entirely on Potatoes." The comment on this is bitter: "Such is ye fare of the Common People in these parts."

More good things were in prospect, however. "Here we met with the best entertainment that we have done since we left Pennsylvania. . . . Dined on a piece of Boiled Beef & a good Roast Turkey . . . a good Supper, Cold Salt Beef, with Butter and a Cheshire Cheese, and went to Bed, which was on ye Floor, but clean & a close Room."

At last, when he was in the vicinity of Charleston, he found something good. "Had two courses of Meat and

after that a Desert of Preserved Fruit, they being no other at this time of the year, and after Dinner Walked in the Garden which abounds with fine orange Trees, which bear plentifully, and they were taking great pains to propagate them, finding the Climate agrees with them & have Exported great Quantitys this year to London & elsewhere, one Ship having on Board 500 Chests Each Containing 300 & upwards."

The long succession of comments on beds and meals which continues through many pages was interrupted by such comments as these:

"In Maryland they give Rum to the Children, Even at three Years old, which they would drink like Water, & I think it a very scandalous practice, and told them so."

Another remark was favorable, for a wonder:

"There are Tree Marks or Posts sett up with the Distance to any Publick Place Every Mile which is Convenient to Travellers as the Road is very lonesome, the People's Houses being out of sight from the Road."

As the years passed, the Colonists began to think of seeking new homes beyond the mountains that for so long shut in the settlements to the regions close to the Atlantic. The Kentucky country attracted many who had heard of it from Daniel Boone. Soon after they went along the Wilderness Road and beyond, there were difficulties as to land titles. In 1779 the Legislature of Virginia sent to Kentucky a commission of four men who were to arrange matters according to an Act passed for the purpose. Colonel William Flemming, the head of the Commission, which went to the frontier country in the winter of 1779 and 1780, kept an account of his experiences. Some of the entries made on the return journey over the Wilderness Road are full of life and color. Here are a few of them:

"May 13. A Young man came into us that had been lost twelve days on his way from St. Asaphs to Pitmans Station on Green River. He was in a wretched condition subsisting on herbs during that time. We went the New road to Scags Creek and went through some good land on a branch of Dicks River came up with a Compy of fifteen men went down a long branch of Scaggs Creek that runs into it at the 3rd foarding. Crossed Rockcastle went up the river three miles and encamped on Raccoon Creek three miles above the mouth.

"May 14th. Left Camp after 7 o'clock A. M. in about 1½ Miles passed the Graves of a Family that perished in the Winter they had encamped on a little rising the waters of the Creek breaking over the Banks surrounded them, it raining hard, and extinguished their fire. The Husband endeavoured to swim over to get fire from People not far from them but was lost in the Attempt his wife and some children perished in the Night with the extremity of the Weather. We passed the Hazel Patch where the Boonsburg road comes in to St. Asaphs this day we crossed some hills and Swamps and encamped on a Ridge by a Spring half a mile from the place where two men were killed, and a Negro taken prisoner this Spring. The place where the Indians attacked was fit for the purpose a narrow passage on a ridge with a draught on each side prevented Assistance had there been any at hand from surrounding the Enemy.

"May 16 . . . At noon this day three men and a negro came in to us who belonged to a party of 12 from Lexington that were defeated about five miles before us, we marched on in silence and pritty good order to the place and found John and Robert Davis from Amherst lying scalped and much mangled on the road. There was two

war Clubs left on the head of one was the figure of a Lizard cut which I supposed belonged to the Spring Lizard of Chickamaga it appeared to me there was two parties out. One of 17 and one of 18 Indians we buried the Corps as well as we could and pursuing our journey crossed Cumberland Mountains and encamped half a mile shortt of Walkers Creek.

"*May 19th.* We went up a bad run and bad road all the days march, passed a verry bad and Slippery hill as bad as any of the Mountains passed Flats Lick where the road comes in from the Rye Cove, the road down Stock Creek verry bad and long, crossed Clinch which was rising so deep some of the horses were swimming in the middle of the River a swarm of Flies settled on my horses head and set him a plunging however I got safe over. We halted when we got over the River, then crossed several steep hills stoney road and Miry places a fresh Indian Tract was discovered.

"*May 20th,* Gap. After our horses were got up we proceeded on our Journey went through the Gap crossed the No Fork of Holstein (Holston) River passed the Block house and halted three miles from it. I got my baggage put into Irwin and Caldwells Waggon, they having brought out a waggon with them this far on their way to Kentucky.

"*May 22.* Breakfast at Bakers some days before a party of Indians attacked a house on Nonachucky (Nolichucky) had two of their party killed. Our People were relieved by some people that came up to their Assistance. A man was either killed or taken Prisoner in Carters Valley, halted at Grays three miles from Shelbys and was overtaken by a party who left Kentucky some days after we did and who met with Wimer one of the Lexington

party at Martins Cabbin Powells Valley, when the party was attacked he quit his horse with a design to fight them but seeing his companions dispersed he was obliged to run and was fired at by an Indian. Wimer soon after falling by stepping into a hole the Indian thinking he had shot him ran up to Wimer with his tomahawk without his gun, Wimer recovering himself presented his gun at the Indian who stopt short in Amaze and standing motionless was shot down. Wimer then ran off and blundering a second time fell in a hollow place, the Indians loosing his tract he loaded his gun and observing an Indian running toward him shot at him with a zest 50 yards and thinking he wounded him in the belly he was no longer pursued and made his Escape he discovered another party of fifteen whom he avoided, and got to where Skeggs Party overtook him, inable to go further from his Legg and knee being much swelled. Tomlins the only person missing of this Party got in wounded in both his Arms. Capt. Pawling coming who had gone back for my sadlebags which I had left we went to Mr. Cummins 15 miles from Col. Shelbys. he informed us that the Indians had attacked a Fort on Nonachucky and lost three after which they went to the house mentioned above."

A variation in the method of travel chosen by most of the early travelers, though this became popular in later years, was that adopted by the Philadelphia merchants Reed and Ford who, in 1790, went on a trading venture to New Madrid, Missouri. With them they carried flour, and exchanged this in Missouri for furs. It is interesting to note that the price they allowed for skins was, for bears, $1, for wild cat, 65 cents; for otter, $3; for beaver, $1; for buffalo, $10.

The first part of the journey, to Redstone, Pennsyl-

vania, on the Monongahela River, was by land. Then the flour and the men in charge of it took to the water, intending to float down the Monongahela, the Ohio, and the Mississippi to their destination.

The river was low, and the boat ran aground many times. Once, when near Wheeling, all hands were unable to push off. Then four men were called from the shore. All armed themselves with handspikes, climbed over into the water, and attempted to pry the boat off. The effort failed. It was only when a flatboat was hired that the way out of the predicament appeared. "By moonlight" they began to unload the flour on the flatboat, then took the load to the bank. The process was repeated until about 1000 barrels had been loaded. Then, from the water, by the aid of handspikes, and by dint of shifting the remaining part of the cargo backward and forward, the men succeeded in getting off the bar. The journal of the trip notes that the money cost of the misadventure was £4.2.6.

Several weeks later it was recorded that a person on the Indian shore (the north shore; the Indians still had possession, and settlement there was forbidden) "continued calling to us, and before night we sent the canoe and brought him aboard. He had been taken the Saturday before, within 4 miles of Clarksville, with about £400 cash, the proceeds of a load of wheat he had taken to the Post (Fort Washington). He made his escape, and had lived on nuts until he came on board; was nearly perishing from cold and hunger. This was the third time he had been taken by the savages and made his escape."

Just after reaching the Mississippi River, the boat grounded and could not be pulled off. So an overland journey was made to New Madrid, where a piroque was

hired, with nine men. The piroque was frozen in a bayou, but it was finally floating on the river. The effort to release the boat from the bar by means of roller skids and handspikes was a failure, until the piroque was sent off to secure poles of slippery elm. These, when put under the boat, did what was hoped of them. The cargo of flour was afloat once more, bound for New Madrid. Again the journal tells the cost of extricating the boat from its sandy berth; the ten days' cost was £88.4.8, in the depreciated currency of the day.

The journey from Philadelphia took from October 27, 1790 to January 11, 1791.

Both land and water combined to make noteworthy the journey of Francis Baily, Englishman, who ventured to take a trip through the wildest parts of America, only fourteen years after the close of the Revolution. The full account of his trip is one of the most fascinating documents of early American history.

From New York to Pittsburgh he traveled overland. From Pittsburgh to New Orleans he floated down the Ohio and Mississippi in a canoe.

Some of the references in the diary sound odd. For instance, on June 4, 1797, when he was near Baton Rouge, he wrote: "The settlement is on the Florida side of the Mississippi." In that day Florida was thought of as extending to the Mississippi. Next day he called attention to the fact that from Baton Rouge to New Orleans the eyes "were continually feasted by the prospect of one uninterrupted chain of plantations, scattered at unequal distances along the shore."

Then he noted this fact:

"This immense river, which was higher here than the surrounding country, was kept from overflowing these

plantations by a raised bank, called a levee, which formed a fine, broad walk immediately on the boarder of the river, and in many places was planted with orange and lemon trees. . . ."

Entranced, the author likened the scene to that presented by the Nile at the most fertile spots in Egypt, and added:

"I could scarcely imagine that I was on the surface of a river which had flowed three thousand miles and scarcely beheld the face of man, much less washed the feet of his habitation, and had barely two hundred miles further to go ere it would be forever lost in the great body of the ocean. This appearance of cultivation I afterward found was not extended into the interior of the country, but merely on the borders of the river; for all the country behind these settlements is still overgrown with woods and possessed by wild beasts, and there is seldom an instance of there being one settlement formed at the back of another, except in the immediate vicinity of New Orleans."

In New Orleans one of the things that impressed him most was the fact that there was but one printing press in the town, and that this was used by the government only. "The Spanish Government is too jealous to suffer the inhabitants to have the free exercise of it," he wrote, "for, however strange it may appear, yet it is absolutely true that you cannot even stick a paper against the wall (either to recover anything lost, or to advertise anything for sale) without its first having the signature of the governor, or his secretary, attached to it, and on all these little bills which are stuck up at the corners of the streets you see the word 'Permitted' written by the governor or his agent."

While at New Orleans the traveler ventured on a bit of prophecy. After telling of a man who built a schooner "at the head of the Ohio and actually navigated it down that river and the Mississippi, and sent it round by sea to Philadelphia," where it became a coastwise commerce carrier, he said:

"If we may be allowed to anticipate a century or two, we may fancy we see a fleet of merchantmen doubling the cape at the mouth of the Ohio and bringing up that delightful river (where nothing is now heard but the croaking of bull frogs, the howling of wolves and wild beasts) the produce of every climate under the sun."

But for the development of the steamboat and the railroad, the prophecy might have been realized.

At first it was Mr. Baily's intention to go to New York by sea, but there was no immediate prospect of getting passage, so he decided to return thither by land, a daring procedure, as many indicated to him. As there was soon a party to set off through the wilderness he determined to go with them. He said:

"The distance across the country was nearly two thousand miles, the greatest part of which was uninhabited, being mostly among the Indian nations, some of whom were continually committing acts of hostility against the Americans. In our progress through this desert country we were to be cut off entirely from society, save the few scattered Indians we might meet with by the way, without a path to direct us in our course, and obliged to take the provisions with us which we might be likely to need during this long and troublesome journey."

The first stage of this journey was made up the east side of the river through West Florida, to Natchez, on horseback. The clothing worn was thus described:

"We had each of us furnished himself with a proper dress for traveling this wilderness; it consisted of a pair of coarse brown overhauls and a shirt of the same material. This was all we had, excepting a pair of shoes, and all that we required in this hot climate. It felt very rough to me at first, but as a finer dress would have been of no essential service, I was obliged to submit to necessity."

When fifteen miles from Natchez the company made ready for the journey across country. They planned to be on the way twenty-one days, so each man took with him fifteen pounds of biscuit, six pounds of flour, twelve pounds of bacon, ten pounds of dried beef, three pounds of rice, one and a half pounds of coffee and four pounds of sugar. In his journal the writer apologizes for including the last two articles in the provisions, but he explained that they would invigorate the spirits of the men and cheer them during their exiled situation. A pint of "Indian corn powder" was taken as an emergency, for Indians told them that a spoonful of this each day would sustain life.

After many days of extreme danger the travelers came to the vicinity of Nashville, where Mr. Baily wrote:

"We met, within three or four miles of the town, two coaches fitted up in all the style of Philadelphia or New York, besides other carriages, which plainly indicated that a spirit of refinement and luxury had made its way into this settlement."

After leaving Nashville the journey was made through "another wilderness" to Knoxville. From Knoxville he made his way to New York, where he took steamer for England.

Some years after Francis Baily told of his adventures on the road, a curious book of travels told of the experiences of an Irishman, George Philips, who set out from

Cork on December 31, 1803, bound for the West Indies, Mexico, and the United States.

While in Vera Cruz, New Spain (Mexico), the traveler learned of "an expedition which the Government of the United States was about to send into the Western and inland parts of North America, for the purpose of exploring that hitherto undiscovered region." In explanation, the author adds that "the Continent of North America is divided into two great parts—the civilized and the uncivilized."

The expedition he hoped to join was the famous exploring tour of Lewis and Clark. Captain Lewis, who was in Vera Cruz, told him he would be a welcome addition to the party, and invited him to accompany him to New Orleans and up the Mississippi River to St. Louis in 1804, in a number of strong boats. "The general rate at which they proceeded was about ten miles a day; nor must this be thought little," the author explains, "when it is considered that considerable labor was requisite to make way against the current of the river, which was extremely rapid. Another difficulty they had to encounter arose from the bars of sand, which the force of the stream continually wash down from the banks at both sides and cause to shift from place to place. When the boats struck on one of these, the effect would have been to upset them immediately if the men did not jump out and hold them steady till the sand washes from underneath them."

Philips remained with the explorers on the outward journey and did not leave them until they reached Fort Mandan on their return trip. From there he made his way, under the guidance of a fur trader, through the British possessions.

On horseback, on foot and by canoe they made their

MODEL OF JOHN FITCH'S FIRST STEAMBOAT
(In the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.)

GEORGE WASHINGTON ON HIS MISSION TO THE OHIO
(From an Old Print)

way to Lake "Winnipic." From Canada the traveler proceeded back to the United States, "composed," wrote the author, "of eighteen provinces or districts, each governed by its own peculiar institution but united together for the purpose of mutual support and advantage."

After visiting Boston and New York, he went by stage to Philadelphia, remarking on the way the "singular wooden bridge across the Delaware, of which the carriageway is made underneath the arch, and is supported by heavy iron chains, let down to it from the top of the bridge. There is, no doubt, a great waste of timber by this mode of building it, but in America where that is so plenty, it is no object to save it, and the roadway is preserved quite level, as they thus avoid the ascent and descent which it otherwise must necessarily have."

The journey to Baltimore was made "in one of those carriages, called a light waggon, a rumbling, heavy machine, stout and strong enough for the rugged roads it had to contend with." On the way Philips and his companions were "jostled over rugged roads, through a barren and uninteresting country, at times the cuts in the road being so deep that they almost despaired of extricating the wheels from them, and to guard against the danger, the drivers always took care to warn them when the carriage was about to sink to the right side or to the left, by calling to the gentlemen, that they should lean toward the other, in order thus to balance the vehicle."

The journey was continued through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia to Florida. There he found a merchantman laden with a cargo of Virginia tobacco on which he took passage for Liverpool. Twenty-five days later he was at home once more.

A few years after his passage through the Southern

States some of the roads there were infested by robbers. One of these was the old Natchez Trace, in Mississippi. One of the robbers, William Hare, printed a pamphlet just before his execution, in which he told of his determination to be a highwayman, because, when in New Orleans, he saw, every few days, a company start on horse stage through the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, to Tennessee, Kentucky, and Pittsburgh. "We raked the Wilderness from the Muscle Shoals to the Choctaw Nations," he said of himself and his associates. It was their custom to hide in the cane, near the Chickasaw Bluffs, and to come out when they saw travelers. But even these highwaymen had their code of honor. Once when they discovered a party bound to some point "low down on the Mississippi" which had many thousand dollars as well as a feather bed, they were content to take the money. But they disdained to rob a woman of a feather bed!

An old Senate document, printed in 1801, gives the interesting history of the beginning of the road across the Chickasaw country. It was entitled "a Treaty of Reciprocal advantages and Mutual convenience between the United States of America and the Chickasaws," and it told how "The Mingco, principal men, and warriors of the Chickasaw Nation of Indians" gave "leave and permission to the President of the United States of America, to lay out, open, and make a convenient waggon road through their land, between the settlements of Mero district, in the state of Tennessee, and those of Natchez, in the Mississippi Territory . . . and the same shall be a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Chickasaws."

Provision was made that "the necessary ferries over the water courses crossed by the said road should be held

and declared to be the property of the Chickasaw nation," and that goods to the value of $700 be given to compensate for the road.

A few years after the laying out of this Indian road, and at about the time of the activity of the highwaymen, harassing the travelers who used it, John Wood, Englishman, while on his way from Baltimore to Illinois, had an experience typical of those who were bound for what was then the Far West. He arranged to have his party of nine people, and 6,000 pounds of luggage, taken 280 miles overland to Wheeling, for $350. The equipment was "two waggons, with six horses and one driver to each waggon."

Mr. Wood noted with surprise that the driver "rode the left wheel horse, with reins on the other two pairs; they seldom walk, and when they do, they always mount should a bad piece of road, or a difficult long bridge come in the way, as they can see to guide the horses much better than when on foot.

Mr. Wood left his family, when near Pittsburgh, and then had to take stage down to Wheeling.

"On August 6, 1819," he said, "I left Pittsburgh, on the stage, before daylight, and crossed the Monongahela, by the new bridge. Then up a very steep hill, the passengers all walking; we passed a very rough country, for nine or ten miles to a tavern, kept by the driver of the stage, where we breakfasted; they charges us 2 s. 3d each, instead of the usual 1 s. 1½d, though the fare was very indifferent."

After a time he was much interested in "a rough road with many long bridges"; this he explains that some of his fellow-passengers from Kentucky called the "Corderoy."

The stage-coach, he said, was very different from an English coach; "it was much more like a light waggon; it was covered at the top, but open on the sides, with leather curtains to let down in case of rain or cold. The road being rough, we could not keep the curtains down, as there was no sort of fastenings for them, and as it rained very hard several times we got wet."

The rough ride made Mr. Wood feel anything but well, so when the pause was made at Washington for dinner, he went out for air. Noting that the stage was still before the tavern, he did not hurry back. But when he did return, he found that the stage he had watched was the stage on which he had come; horses and passengers had been transferred to a second stage, and were far on their way. So there was nothing for him to do but to walk from Washington to Wheeling. That night he was weary, having walked twenty-five miles.

Four years after Wood's travel talk was written, Ann Royall was advised to try the mineral waters of Virginia for her health. On July 1 she started from St. Stephens, Alabama. Because she resolved to "note everything worthy of remark, and commit to writing," the account of her travels was made ready for a modest volume, which has long been out of print.

The first stage of the journey was made by private conveyance, over roads that afforded anything but comfortable transport. But the writer of the diary was philosophical; she laughed at hardships, made a joke of difficulties, and in every way proved herself a model traveler.

After a day she came to the place where her route connected with that of the regular stage line. There were three other passengers, one of whom, a man, insisted on appropriating the back seat, the only one with a back.

The stage was "an old rattletrap," and the road was bad; for a mile it was "causewayed with huge logs." But troubles were not over when the corduroy road was passed, for then "the road though level, was narrow and crooked, often interrupted with stumps of trees; going at the rate we went it required the utmost skill to avoid them. When the driver would see danger before him, he would address his horses with 'look sharp,' or 'take care'."

At MacMinnville, a village which was "growing fast," Mrs. Royall changed to the Nashville stage. When near Sparta there was pointed out to her "a spacious cave, called the arch cave, a great natural curiosity, having an archway underground, the distance of a mile in length, through which persons may walk from one end to the other." In this town the travelers met several members of the Legislature, on their way from East Tennessee, going on to Murfreesborough to hold their session." The account continues:

"We were sorry to impart bad news to them, but it was little less than our duty to do so. Their house, in which they intended to convene, viz., the state-house, was just burned to the foundation, only two nights before. . . . Respecting this dreadful business, different opinions prevail; some suspected the people of Nashville, and some the people of Jefferson, in order, it was supposed, that the seat of government would be moved, at least the approaching session. But in this, if this was the view, they were disappointed, as I have since learned, they convened in a church."

The stage was so heavily laden that the passengers had to walk up Cumberland Mountain—all, that is, except the passenger who had insisted on monopolizing the back seat; he pretended to be sick, and rode while women

walked. The worst of it was that the distance across the mountain by the road the stage took was sixty miles, and much of this distance was made at night. When the stage reached Knoxville she had been forty-four hours without sleep, so she decided to wait until the next stage, that she might rest.

The journey was continued through Virginia. At last Lewisburg was reached, a town that contained "a handsome stone courthouse and jail, two clerks' offices, two churches, one academy for young men and one for young ladies, two taverns, four retail stores, a postoffice, a printing office, and forty dwelling houses, chiefly of wood.

"In this small town four different courts held their sessions. . . . These courts, and the number of travelers who pass through the place, from the west to the east, and from east to west, and the vast number of hogs, horses and cattle, that are drove through it from all parts of the western country, gives it an air of liveliness, for about ten months in the year."

At the time of the visit Virginia was engaged in "making a road from the head of navigation, that is, the nearest point of intersection with the James River." This road passed through Lewisburg. "The intention of this undertaking, I am told, is to draw the trade of the western states," Mrs. Royall wrote; "it appears to be the design of Virginia to come in for a share of that commercial interest, hitherto engrossed by the states north of her. She contemplates transporting merchandise by water to Covington, a point of intersection with the road, and from thence by wagon, to the falls of Kenhawa, where a line of steamboats is to convey it to different parts of the western country."

Many travelers were seen along the road. "I have been

astonished to see loads of crockery ware, tea cups, and such things, purchased by people who lived twenty, thirty and in one instance fifty miles off, put them in the saddle-bags or tie them up in a kerchief," the observing tourist wrote. "A woman will think nothing of setting them in her lap, holding them with one hand, and set out for home in a round trot, at sunset, which, perchance, may be fifteen or twenty miles distant."

Finally, after a long journey, the springs were reached, and Ann Royall of St. Stephens, Alabama, put herself under the care of the physicians.

More stage coach experiences were related by a traveler from England, who in 1834 returned from Sandusky, Ohio, to Columbus:

"Soon after I had risen the bar agent came to say that the coach was ready, and would start in ten minutes. . . . I had no sooner began to enter the coach than splash went my foot in mud and water. "Soon be dry, sir!" was the observation of the driver, while he withdrew the light, that I might not explore the cause of complaint.

"There was, indeed, in the coach, as in most others, a provision in the bottom of holes to let off both water and dirt; but here the dirt had become mud and thickened about the orifices, so as to prevent escape, I found I was the only passenger; the morning was damp and chilly. . . . I drew up the wooden windows—out of five small panes of glass in the sashes, three were broken. I endeavoured to secure the curtains; two of them had most of the ties broken, and flapped in one's face. I could see nothing, and as for sounds I had the call of the driver, the screeching of the wheels and the song of the bullfrog for my entertainment.

"But the worst of my solitary situation was to come.

All that had been intimated about bad roads now came upon me. They were not only bad, they were intolerable; they were rather like a stony ditch than a road. The horses on the first stage could only walk most of the way; we were frequently in up to the axle-trees, and I had no sooner recovered from a terrible plunge on one side than there came another in the opposite direction. I was literally thrown about like a ball. With an empty coach and four horses we were seven hours in going twenty-three miles; and we were twenty-eight hours in getting to Columbia, a distance of one hundred and ten miles. Yet this line of conveyance was advertised as 'a splendid line equal to any in the state.' "

It is not easy for those who travel luxuriously at fifty or sixty miles an hour to realize that their ancestors were content with such primitive roads and vehicles, and that when they made fifty or sixty miles a day they were satisfied, while a speed of a hundred miles a day seemed marvelous.

CHAPTER VI

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS REVEALED BY HIS CORRESPONDENCE

THERE is absorbing interest in reading letters written by George Washington as these are quoted in a biography, or as they appear in collections made up from his correspondence. But it is better still to read some of the letters exactly as they came from the hand of the Father of his Country, and to compare them with the reprints. For sometimes—alas!—editors have thought it wise to tamper with the correspondence, omitting words, and softening expressions which they felt were not in keeping with the dignity of the man. They are like the woman of whom a newspaper writer on Washington told some years ago. This woman was so fortunate as to own a number of the letters of the first President. When her heirs came to examine them they found that, in her zeal for the reputation of our national hero, she had with her scissors cut out expressions she thought undignified.

But it is absolutely safe to leave Washington's reputation in the keeping of his correspondence, unexpurgated, unchanged. It reveals him as a man among men, an extremely human, lovable man, a most competent man in everything he attempted.

A priceless budget of original letters in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Dreer Collection, is rich in messages written at nearly every period of the life of the great Virginian who became the greatest American. Those

who have the privilege of studying them will come away with a new appreciation of his character, with added veneration for the man so greatly honored by the country he led to independence. And when the perusal of this collection leads them to turn to some of the other similar rich treasures, they will be amazed that so much remains to tell at first hand of the man in whose memory America takes delight.

The earliest specimens of the handwriting of the youthful George date back to the time when, at thirteen, he was attending the school of Rev. James Marye, in Fredericksburg. They are in good copy-book style. The composition is not original, but the handwriting, remarkably well-formed, shows the strength and individuality that were characteristic in later life.

Then come his notes as a surveyor, made during 1743 and 1749. Determined to make his own way, though his half-brother Lawrence would have been glad to have him live with him at Mount Vernon, he did careful work for his neighbor, Lord Fairfax, of Belvoir, and, later, for the Colony. One of his notes, dated November 7, 1749, tells of "a certain Tract of Waste and Ungranted Land. . . Bounded as followeth Beginning at three Pines on very hilly piney ground, and runs . . . to three white oaks . . . then . . . to two Black Oakes and Dogwood . . . then . . . to two white Oaks and one hickory Sapline . . ." Such careful records, and the hardships experienced while making them—once he wrote that for a considerable period he had not "sleep'd above three nights or four in a bed, but . . . upon a little straw, foder or bracken"—revealed the fact that he was unconsciously fitting himself for the accuracy and the heroism of the years to follow.

Then appears the boy of nineteen, accompanying Law-

rence Washington to Barbadoes, in the hope that the balmy climate of the island would arrest his half-brother's pulmonary trouble. The Journal kept while on that eventful and unexpectedly hazardous trip makes distinct contribution to the study of the life of the writer. For instance, note how briefly, simply, and modestly he speaks of what, to the average young man, would have been worth pages describing feelings, symptoms and dangers:

"November 4, 1751.—This Morning received a card from Major Clarke (who was Commander of James Fort) welcoming us to Barbadoes, with an invitation to breakfast and dine with him. We went, myself with some reluctance, as the Small pox was in his family. . . ."

Now note the sequel:

"Saturday, 17th. Was strongly attacked with the small Pox, sent for Dr. L. whose attendance was very constant till my recovery, and going out, which was not till thursday the 12th of December."

For all the Journal reveals, that might have been a slight attack. But it was not slight: it marked him for life.

Some months later Lawrence returned to Mount Vernon to die. He was buried in the tomb by the Potomac that opened, after many years, to receive the body of George, who became the master of Mount Vernon by the will of the man for whom he nearly lost his life.

But, though he delighted in life in the country, the ease of the farm did not appeal to him enough to keep him at home when he was called on by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to take a message to the leader of the French who were encroaching on the territory Virginia claimed as her own in what is now western Pennsylvania. He had already been commissioned major of militia designed for

service to protect the frontier against the French and Indians. Now he was needed for service that called for the ingenuity, patience, wisdom, and diplomacy of a mature man. He was only twenty-one, but how well he was fitted for the task is revealed by the unassuming, modest journal he kept during the expedition.

The first entry, dated October 31, 1753, tells of the simple preparations made for the arduous campaign:

"I was Commissioned and appointed, to visit and deliver a Letter to the Commandant of the French Forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended Journey the Same Day; the next, I arriv'd at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter; and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries; from there we went to Winchester, and got Baggage, Horses, &c., and from there we proceed on the new road to Wills Creek, where we arrived the 14th of November."

How many young men of twenty-one would tell in one hundred words a story like that—appointment, preparation, fourteen days of journeying through the wilderness? All he had to say of difficulties, even after reaching Logstown, near the present site of Pittsburgh, twenty-five days from Williamsburg, was, "We travelled over some extra good, and bad Land to get to this place."

Then he allowed himself a little latitude. For had he not been instructed by Governor Dinwiddie to give a circumstantial account of events? It did not occur to him that a record of hardships endured would be of special interest, so he waited until he had something like the following to tell:

"As soon as I came to Town, I went to Monacatatoocha (as the Half-King was out at his hunting Cabbin on little

Beaver creek, about 15 miles off) and informed him by John Davison my Indian Interpreter, that I was sent as Messenger to the French General; and was ordered to call upon the Sachems of the Six Nations, to acquaint them with it.—I gave him a String of Wampum, and a Twist of Tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King; which he promised to do by a Runner in the Morning.—I invited him and the other great men present to my Tent, where they stayed about an Hour. . . ."

Then he told of the visit to him of four Frenchmen, deserters from a body of soldiers who had been sent to carry provisions to the forts. From them he learned details of the garrisons on the Mississippi and the Ohio Rivers.

The youthful messenger went on to Venango and Duquesne and delivered the letter of which he was the bearer. To this the reply was sent, in part: "As to the Summons ye send me to return, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. . . . I am here by virtue of the orders of my General."

On the way back came the famous adventure of December 29th in the Allegheny River, where Washington was near to losing his life. He wrote of this:

"There was no way of getting over but on a Raft, which we set about, with but one poor Hatchet, and got finished just after Sun-setting, after a whole Day's Work; we got it launched, and on Board of it, and set off; but before we were Half Way over, we were jammed in the Ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our Raft to sink, and ourselves to perish; I put out my setting Pole to try to stop the Raft, that the Ice might pass by, when the Rapidity of the stream . . . jerked me out into Ten Feet of Water, but I fortunately saved myself by

catching hold of one of the Raft Logs; notwithstanding all our Efforts we could not get the Raft to either Shore, but were obliged, as we were near an Island, to quit our Raft and make to it. The cold was so severe that Mr. Gest had his Fingers and some of his Toes frozen, and the Water was shut up so hard, that we found no Difficulty in getting off the Island, on the ice, in the morning."

After weeks only less exciting than the day just recorded, Williamsburg was reached. At the close of the account, the hero of the expedition wrote:

"From the first of December to the 19th there was but one Day but it rained or snowed incredibly; and throughout the whole Journey we Met with nothing but one continued series of Cold, wet Weather, which occasioned us uncomfortable Lodgings, especially after we had left our Tent. . . ."

At Williamsburg Washington was compelled to face a trial that to him seemed more severe than the encounter with Allegheny ice. The Governor was so delighted with the record of the trip that he was bound to print it. The idea was enough to put Washington in a panic, but, to make matters worse, the work had to be done at once, since the House of Burgesses was about to adjourn, and it was desired that each member should take a copy with him to his home. So he had "no Leisure to consult of a new and proper form to offer it in, or to Correct or amend the Diction of the old; neither was I apprised or did in the least conceive, when I wrote for his Honour's Perusal, that it ever would be published, or even have more than a Cursory Reading."

So—fortunately—the record was printed just as it came from Washington's hand. But two copies of the original

edition are known; from one of these the notes above were taken.

The changes of the next dozen years are kaleidoscopic: lieutenant, colonel, aid-de-camp to General Braddock, hero of the disastrous campaign to Fort Duquesne; Commander-in-chief of the Virginia militia; more frontier experiences. And when he was twenty-seven, married, and seated as a member of the House of Burgesses of his native state at Williamsburg, where both his modesty and solid worth were apparent.

During years of comparative quiet that followed he began his acquisition of lands beyond the mountains that showed his wisdom and added so much to his fortune. A volume of letters tells of his dealings with his friend Crawford, once a comrade on the expedition to Fort Duquesne, who had settled on lands on the Youghiogheny River in what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania. To him, on September 21, 1767, he wrote the first of a series of messages that were characteristic of the keen business sense that led him to buy many thousands acres of land in a number of desirable locations. In this letter he asked for the purchase of 1,500 or 2,000 acres, somewhere in the neighborhood of the home of his correspondent, whom, in most politic fashion, he put in the humor to do his best. For he wanted the best.

"Ordinary or even middling lands would never answer my purpose or expectation . . . no; a tract to please me must be rich (of which no person can be a better judge than yourself). . . . Could such a piece of land be found, you would do me a singular favor in falling upon some method of securing it immediately from the attempts of others, as nothing is more certain than that the lands

cannot remain long ungranted when ever it is known that rights are to be had."

That letter is interesting not only because it tells of the beginning of western land purchases, but because of Washington's correspondent; Crawford later served as an officer in the Revolution, then was sent on mission to the Indians in the Sandusky country in Ohio. There he was captured and put to death by torture. It is recorded that when Washington heard of his fate he was profoundly moved.

But the sorrows and needs of the Colonies soon led the land-lover to forget Mount Vernon and all his other possessions—no, not to forget them, as will appear in his later correspondence, but to put them in the background while he responded to the call of the patriots to lead the army against the invader. He didn't wish to do it; he would have been gratified by the choice of another. All he could do was to give expression to his feeling of unworthiness, promise to do his best, and give notice that he could not accept anything but his expenses, of which he would keep exact account—an account which, by the way, amounted to less than thirteen thousand pounds for the entire period of the war!

To Mrs. Washington he wrote freely of his regret that he had been made Commander-in-chief:

"You may believe me, my dear Patsey, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home, than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my

MOORE HOUSE, YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA. ERECTED 1713
(Here the terms for the surrender of Cornwallis were arranged)

MOUNT VERNON, VIRGINIA
(Official Photograph, U. S. Army Air Service)

stay were to be seven times seven years. . . . I shall feel no pain from the toil or danger of the campaign; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasines I know you will feel from being left alone."

The spirit in which he led the patriots through days of darkness, through defeat, dismay, disaster, to complete victory, was shown by the order he issued to the army on July 2, 1776:

"The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will probably deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this Army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us no choice but a brave resistance or the most abject submission. This is all that we can expect. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or die. Our own country's honor calls upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion, and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us rely upon the goodness of the cause, and the aid of the Supreme Being, in whose hands victory is, to animate and encourage us to good and noble actions. . . ."

By words like these, by his example, by his consummate genius, he held his soldiers through campaign after campaign that seemed only to postpone the day of victory. The collapse of resistance came so suddenly that, on August 27, 1781, James McHenry—who became Secretary of War in 1796—wrote from the Forks of Yorktown to Colonel Williamson congratulating him and his asso-

ciates in gaining distinguished riches in history under a good general, "while he in this quarter has not yet deserved a corner." And this was less than two months before the climax of Washington's brilliant campaign that led to the collapse of the war through the surrender of Cornwallis, the man of whom McHenry spoke in the same letter as "an obstinate dog, a Hannibal, a Scipio, a Julius Cæsar, or what you please, who would not be persuaded that he ought to withdraw from Virginia or that he could not penetrate Maryland."

But Washington persuaded him—Washington, the commander who never lost his poise even when his aides were surest that the end of hope was at hand. And his references to the great victory as found in his correspondence are as matter-of-fact as the record of his escape from death by smallpox in Barbadoes, or from the ice in the Allegheny River!

The war was over, and the victorious general turned his eager steps to his beloved Mount Vernon, where he still hoped to spend the remainder of his days in peaceful quiet. And he did have several years of the life of a country gentleman, directing his servants, giving personal attention to his fields, entertaining his friends in the hospitable manor house on the Potomac. There he wished to remain, as he indicated in a letter to a friend in England:

"I have endeavored, in a state of tranquil retirement, to keep myself as much from the eyes of the world as I possibly could. I have studiously avoided, as much as was in my power, to give any cause for ill-natured or impatient comments on my conduct. . . . I wish most devoutly to glide silently and unnoticed through the

remainder of life. This is my heartfelt wish; and these are my undisguised feelings."

It was not to be. On November 19, 1786, he received a letter from David Stuart, assemblyman at Richmond, which asked him to go to Philadelphia, to sit with the convention called together to consult as to possible improvements in the very unsatisfactory Articles of Federation that tied the states together so loosely that real progress was out of the question, unity was destroyed, and anything was possible but the things for which Washington had given seven years of his life.

The letter told him of the wish that he represent Virginia at Philadelphia. But to it he replied, with his usual modesty, and consideration for others, that he could not think of going to Philadelphia. He realized that the work of revision of the federal system was a work of indispensable necessity. "The first Constitution is inadequate," he wrote. "The superstructure totters to its foundations, and without helps, will bury us in its ruin." He said he had never more intended to appear in a public theater, and had in a public manner bid adieu to public life. He might have dispensed with this objection, if the voice of his country called him. "But another now exists which would make my acceptance of the appointment impossible with any degree of courtesy."

Then he explained that the Society of the Cincinnati—made up of officers of the Revolution—was to assemble in Philadelphia a few days before the convention at which he was asked to represent Virginia. Less than three weeks before he had written that he could not attend. (He was president of the order, and it is evident that by absence he hoped to leave the office to another.) "Under the circumstances," he concluded, "I could not be in Phil-

adelphia . . . without giving offence to a worthy and respectable part of the American community."

But Richmond would not accept Washington's denial. In December, 1786, "His Excellency, Edmund Randolph," wrote to the farmer at Mount Vernon. To this the reply was sent on December 21:

"Sensible as I am of the honor conferred on me by the General Assembly in appointing me one of the Deputies to the Convention proposed to be held in the city of Philadelphia in May next for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and desirous as I am, on all occasions, of testifying a ready obedience to the calls of my Country,—yet, Sir, there exists at this moment circumstances which I am persuaded will make my acceptance of this fresh mark of confidence incompatible with other measures which I had previously adopted, and from which, seeing little prospect of disengaging myself, it would be disingenuous not to express a wish that some other characters on whom greater reliance can be had, may be substituted in my place."

The conclusion of the letter was stately, courteous, and —so it seemed—final:

"As no mind can be more deeply impressed than mine is with the awful situation of our affairs, resulting in a great measure from the want of efficient power in the federal head, and due respect to the ordinance, so, consequently, those who do engage in the important business of removing these defects will carry with them every good wish of mine, which the best disposition towards the attainment can bestow."

The writer was so humble in his estimate of himself, so generous in his thought of others who might serve, that he did not realize he was, by every letter he wrote,

showing fresh cause why he, and he alone, could lead in showing the way out of difficulties, and guide in the reconstruction of the government.

Fortunately, Edmund Randolph saw. Again he wrote. His letter was delayed, like so many of those that went to Washington at Alexandria, his market town, to which he went twice a week, often only to receive his mail. And this letter put the matter before the general in such a light that he had to put aside all his objections. This was done with great reluctance, on March 23, 1787:

"I had entertained the hope that another had been, or soon would be, appointed in my place, in as much as it is not only inconvenient for me to leave home, but because there will be, I apprehend, too much cause to charge my conduct with inconsistency, in again appearing in a public theatre after a public declaration to the contrary; and because it will, I fear, have a tendency to sweep me back into the tide of public affairs, whereas retirement and leisure is so essentially necessary for, and is so much desired by me.

"However, as my friends, with a degree of sollicitude . . . seem to wish my attendance on this occasion, I have come to a resolution to go if my health will permit, provided, in the lapse of time between the date of your Excellency's note and the reply, the Executive may not . . . have turned his thought to some other character—for independantly of all other considerations I have, of late, been so afflicted with a rheumatic complaint in my shoulder that at times I am hardly able to raise my hand to my head, or turn myself in bed."

In closing the letter he showed another fine touch of the thought for others which won and held the devotion of his officers and men during the Revolution. He asked,

if he was still desired, that early word be sent him, that he might go to Philadelphia in season to account for his "conduct to the General Meeting of the Cincinnati, which is to come on the first Monday in May."

At Philadelphia he was received with acclamation. Not only was he made leader of the convention, but his wise, temperate counsels had large part in forming the decision to go farther than a revision of the loose Articles of Confederation. The result of the four months of toil through the hot summer season was a complete Constitution, an entirely new document. It was the result of many compromises made when the convention seemed about to go on the rocks—and Washington had much to do with the agreement of the fifty-five men in attendance in the state paper which Gladstone called, with enthusiasm to which he was not always accustomed, "The most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and hand of men."

When Washington completed his labors at the convention he was hopeful that the states would agree speedily on the program set before them. Yet they hesitated; John Quincy Adams said, "The Constitution was extorted by grinding necessity from a reluctant people." The reluctance was shown when the states ratified it. Only three of them were unanimous; two others ratified without difficulty; but there was a close vote in Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Rhode Island—the last named the only state that refused to sit in the convention over which Washington so ably presided.

However, there was an end to indecision when choice was to be made of the first President. Washington was the only man, so to Washington Congress turned. When a committee of that body sought him at Mount Vernon

to give final notification of his election—this was on April 14, 1789—he indicated his acceptance with reluctance and forebodings. He expressed the hope that the country would never have reason to regret its choice, and in a letter to a friend he said, "My movements to the Chair of Government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of execution." And when the time came for him to leave his beloved home for New York and his inauguration, he wrote, "I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York."

The tale of the eight wonderful years in the Presidency is a record of man's triumph over untoward conditions the like of which the world has not seen. Many explanations have been given by his biographers of his remarkable ability to guide the infant Republic; of the wisdom—sometimes it seemed almost uncanny—which enabled him to avoid pitfalls. But has sufficient attention been paid to the dry sense of humor of which Owen Wister speaks in *The Seven Ages of Washington?* This saving sense of humor enabled him, on finding shelter from a storm in a house near Washington, and learning that the child of the house was eager to see him, to say, "Well, my dear, you see a very tired man, in a very dirty shirt." The ability to laugh which helped him thus during one of the darkest hours of the Revolution, must have been with him on a day, late in 1789, when he was still new to the Presidency. Of this the *Columbia Centinel* told:

"The President, on his return to New York from his late tour through Connecticut, having missed his way on Saturday, was obliged to ride a few miles on Sunday

morning, in order to gain the Town at which he had previously proposed to have attended divine service.—Before he arrived, however, he was met by a Tything man, who, commanding him to stop, demanded the occasion of his riding; and it was not until the President had informed him of every circumstance, and promised to go no farther than the town intended, that the Tything man would permit him to proceed on his journey."

That story is too good to be apocryphal. Washington was just the man to know how to enjoy a joke like that. If we had a record of incidents at which he actually did laugh, it would be evident that the tradition of an austere Washington would have to be modified.

One of the most trying tasks of a President—until the burden was largely shifted to others, or removed by civil service regulations—was the listening to the appeals of office seekers. And Washington had his share of the undesirable visitors and letters incident to the claims of men who thought they could serve the country.

On March 7, 1796, the President had a delicate letter to write in reply to an application for an office so exalted that an application for it is almost unthinkable. It could not have been an easy letter to write, but it was worded with tact, firmness, and fine courtesy. This is what was read by the recipient, Chancellor A. C. Hanna, of Maryland:

". . . Altho' it is not usual with me to answer letters of application to office, or to assign reasons for non-compliance; yet, from the responsibility of your character, I depart from it in the present instance;—and doing so Candour requires I should add, that it would be inexpedient to take two of the Associate Judges from the same

State.—The practice has been founded I conceive in sound policy to disseminate them through the United States.

"I have not mentioned, nor shall I mention, the application you have made.—I keep no copy of the letter, and that your own may never appear, I transmit it to you, to be disposed of as you shall think proper."

Was ever rebuke administered in more disarming manner? Evidently the letter was treasured because of its unusual quality; it found its way out of the family archives by the act of the son of the man to whom Washington wrote, himself an honored occupant of a seat on the judicial bench.

It can be imagined how much pleasure Washington must have had in offering an office to a man well qualified for it, who had not applied for it, who, evidently, had no thought that his name was to be considered. Note, for instance, the letter of July 14, 1791, to "Thomas Jefferson, Esquire":

"Without preface, or apology for propounding the following questions to you at this time; permit me to ask you with frankness, and in the fulness of friendship, whether you will accept of an appointment on the Supreme Judiciary of the United States? . . . Your answer to the question by the Post (which is the most certain mode of Conveying letters) as soon as you can make it convenient, will very much oblige . . ."

Even after he retired from official life, the office seekers and their friends pursued him. This is not strange: what better indorsement could there be than that of Washington? A letter written from Mount Vernon to General Morgan, on October 26, 1799—just seven weeks before his death—is of interest not only because it shows the writer's painstaking care with all correspondence, but

because it has to do with Harper's Ferry, the famous military storehouse for which Washington himself selected the site:

"I have been duly favoured with your letter . . . recommending the Revd. Mr. Hill as Chaplain of the troops to be stationed at Harper's Ferry.

"I do not know whether provision has been made for Chaplains, and, at any rate, I cannot tell whether or not it will be thought proper to engage a temporary Chaplain. . . ."

The promise was made that word would be sent him, after conference with the Secretary of War, with the further assurance: "If provision is not already made for Chaplains, I think it will be done; and it would certainly be very desirable to engage in that capacity such a respectable Christian as Mr. Hill appears to be."

The closing year of the life of his country's hero who was living in retirement at Mount Vernon witnessed a letter about an office seeker of an entirely different character. The caution of the man who does not wish to write unfavorably is revealed by this message of June 25, 1799, to James McHenry, Secretary of War:

"By transmitting General Hamilton's letter to me of the 18th inst. respecting the expediency of promoting General Wilkinson to the rank of Major General in the Armies of the United States, and my reply thereto of the present date, I find it the easiest mode of communicating the ideas of both of us on the subject, and the necessity of enlarging them is superseded thereby. I have only to pray that both may be returned. . . ."

Washington had learned years before writing this letter the absurdity of thinking that he was to be freed from

official responsibilities just because he had turned over the Presidency to his successor.

Yet with what eagerness he stepped aside is shown by a letter written on March 6, 1797, to Sir John Sinclair, member of Parliament, in England.

The letter penned three days after the close of the final Congress of his last term, had been postponed, for reasons thus given:

". . . Oppressed as I was with the various occurrences incident thereto, specially in the latter part of it, it has not been in my power to do so during its continuance, and now, the arrangements necessary to my departure from the city, for a more tranquil theatre, and for the indulgence of rural pursuits, will oblige me to suspend my purpose, until I am fixed at Mount Vernon, where I expect soon to be, having resigned the chair of government to Mr. John Adams, on Friday last, the day on which I completed my second four year administration . . ."

The closing paragraph of the letter reveals the fact that ever present in the mind of Washington was his devotion to the land which he had turned from so reluctantly when he went to New York:

"I am sorry to add that nothing final in Congress has been decided respecting the institution of a National Board of Agriculture, recommended by me at the opening of the Session. But this did not, I believe, proceed from any disinclination to the measure, but from their continued sitting, and pressure of what they considered more important business. I think it highly probable that next Session will bring the matter to maturity."

Note well the farmer's irony in the qualifying words, "*What they considered* more important business"!

Indeed, one of the secrets of the ability of the first

President to carry on the work of his office was the fact that he was able sometimes to turn for a rest to thoughts of his farm on the Potomac. This he did, in part, through his correspondence with Arthur Young, the country squire in Bury, England, who, like him, was an enthusiastic agriculturist. That correspondence, begun several years before he became President, even then took his mind off disturbing reflections, as those that led him to write in 1786, to David Stuart of Richmond:

"But what is become of that superlative Villan, Posy? —It has been reported here that he is run off to Georgia. —By a letter I have just received from Mr. Hill, I find that the whole produce of my Estate for the year 1784 together with Monies which Hill received from others on my account, has got into that abandoned wretch's hands, not one shilling of which I fear will be got out of them."

The character of the Young letters may be seen from a few extracts. On November 1, 1787, Washington wrote that he was very glad his English friend had not engaged a ploughman for him, since the wages demanded were too high. He reported that he had tried the ploughs sent him from abroad, which, before the trial, had seemed too heavy to all who examined them, though it developed that they were well fitted to the work expected of them. He also told of his preparation to build a barn "precisely agreeable to your plan, which I think an excellent one." (In December he said that the brick barn was "the largest and most convenient in the country.")

The letter that praised the completed barn spoke of a request made by Young, for a sample of wool from the Mount Vernon estate. This could not be sent, for, as the letter said, "it is all wrought into cloth, and I must defer it until after the next shearing."

The sample was sent according to promise in 1789. On August 15, President Washington—no, Farmer Washington!—wrote from New York:

"I directed that a fleece of a middling sized quality, shall be sent to me at this place, which has been done, and I now forward it to you."

Think of the busy statesman turning aside to write at length about sheep! He discussed the need of improving the breed, "especially . . . when we have so little water, that they require either no dry fodder, or next to none, and when we are sufficiently distant from the frontiers not to be troubled with wolves or other wild vermin, which prevent inhabitants there from keeping flocks. Though we do not feed our sheep upon leaves, as you mention they do in some parts of France, yet we cannot want for portions suitable enough for them. I am at a loss, therefore, to account for the disproportion between their value and that of black cattle; as well as for our not augmenting their number. So persuaded am I of the practicability and advantages of it, that I have raised near 200 lambs upon my farm this year."

Another letter, written in 1788, told how the sheep fancier and barn builder—who was also a nation builder—had been laying out his farm into fields of nearly the same dimensions, and arranging crops for each until the year 1795. Such forehandedness was characteristic. At the time of his death it was found that he had arranged for crop rotation for several years into the century so soon to begin.

In 1791 he made an extended inquiry such as might have been undertaken by the longed-for Board of Agriculture. Because his English friend wished certain information as to farming receipts, methods and experiences in various

parts of the country, he sent a circular letter to a number of farmers scattered from Virginia to western Pennsylvania. The exhaustive replies these men sent to the questionnaire were transmitted to England, and were later printed with Washington's correspondence to Young, in accordance with the reluctant permission to do so given by the American.

The President's regard for the proprieties appeared when, on January 8, 1792, he wrote to "Dear Bushrod," his relative and man of business on the estate:

"I have long suspected—but such has been my situation for some years back, that I have not been able to ascertain the fact—that a tract of about 1,200 acres which I hold on Four Mile Run near Alexandria, has had the wood thereon dealt pretty freely with by unauthorized persons in the vicinity.

"The enclosed from Mr. Whiting gives information of a particular Act.—He is directed in a letter of this date to wait upon Colo. Little, and with such proof of the Trespass as he can obtain, to call upon you therewith.

"If this should appear to you indubitable, I am resolved —as an example—to punish the aggressor; and pray you to issue a process against them, and prosecute the same in the name of George Aug. Washington."

Let it be noted how careful of the facts Washington proposed to be before taking action:

"Lest any misconception of Whiting's should lead me, or you into an error, I beg you will, when an opportunity should . . . present itself, enquire of Colo. Little whether the Hoop poles were incontestably taken from my land, who the persons are that did it, who to prove it—and whether there can be any demurrer to the propriety (legality I mean) of bringing the suit in the name of G. A.

Washington as my attorney—not being willing to have my own name called in Court on the occasion."

A message of a very different character was sent, on November 24, 1793, to Colonel Burgess Ball of Leesburg, Virginia. Washington wanted an ample supply of buckwheat for seed. He discussed the cost of waggonage from the port of purchase to Mount Vernon, as well as the price. But, for fear his discussion of a fair price might deprive him of his seed, he said he would rather pay sixpence more per bushel, delivered at Mount Vernon, than encounter delay. He could not afford to be disappointed, because the buckwheat was a part of his system of husbandry for the next year. For fear he was not understood, he repeated himself:

"A small difference in the price can be no object when placed against the disconcertion of my plan." Then, a few lines later, he impressed the same thing: "For the reason I have already assigned, I must encounter no disappointment."

That letter was written from Germantown, where Washington lived during the smallpox epidemic of 1793 —"the malady with which Philadelphia has been sorely afflicted," as he wrote to one of his correspondents. "I took a house in the town, when I first arrived here, and shall retain it until Congress get themselves fixed, altho I spend part of my time in the city."

On February 14, 1796, a letter was sent to Bushrod Washington, telling of the shipment to Mount Vernon of the Guinea or Chinese Hogs, "accompanied with as much corn as would serve them plentifully on the passage." The animals just caught the ship, and a receipt for them was taken to Washington. On examining it he was surprised to note the exorbitant freight charged. This

was referred to with a philosophy that sounds quite modern: "It is the way we are imposed upon here in almost everything."

The hospitable estate at Mount Vernon was always open to guests—many of them relatives. For, while Washington had no sons or daughters, he had a great heart that led him to welcome a host of sons and daughters of sisters and brothers and other connections. Some of the greatest joys of his life—as well as some of the greatest sorrows—came to him in connection with these relatives to whom his purse was never closed, although his generosity was frequently abused. At times he tried to be severe, but severity was tempered with generosity. His richest gifts, however, were not made in cash, but in thought and planning.

During the interval of comparative quiet between the French and Indian War and the outbreak of the Revolution, when the proprietor of Mount Vernon had his longest taste of life on the plantation, a letter was written which is of interest not only because it tells of his care for one of these relatives, but also because of his reference to the relative as a son-in-law instead of a stepson, and by reason of the picture of school and home life in those days, and the kindly estimate of the lad.

This letter was written to "The Revd. Mr. Boucher, in Carolina," and was dated at Mount Vernon, May 30, 1768. It told of the impending departure of a tutor who had lived for years in the family, though he had not been attending to his duties for some months, so that Master Custis "my Son-in-law and Ward" would be left without instruction. "I shall be glad therefore," Washington wrote, "to know if it would be convenient for you to add him to the number of your Pupils.—He is a boy of good

genius, about 14 years of age, untainted in his Morals and of innocent Manners.—Two years and upward he has been reading of Virgil and was . . . entered upon the Greek Testament. . . . If he come, he will have a boy (well acquainted with House business, which may be made as useful as possible in your family, to keep him out of Idleness) and two Horses, to furnish him with the means of getting to Church and elsewhere as you may permit, as he will be absolutely under your Tuition and direction to manage as you think proper in all respects.

"Now, Sir, if you incline to take Master Custis I would be glad to know what Conveniences it may be necessary for him to bring, and how soon he may come. As to his Board and Schooling (Provender for his Horses he may lay in himself), I do not think it necessary to enquire into, and will Cheerfully pay Ten or Twelve Pounds a year . . . to engage your peculiar care of and a watchful eye to him, as he is a promising boy—the last of his Family—& will possess a very large Fortune—add to this my anxiety to fit him for more useful purposes than a horse Racer &c."

Twenty-eight years later. Then a letter, just as wise, just as considerate, was written concerning his favorite niece Harriot, on a most interesting occasion. It was sent from Philadelphia, during the last year of Washington's second term, to Major George Lewis, of Fredericksburg, Virginia.

"Tuesday's Post brought me a letter from Mr. Andrew Parks of Fredericksburg, covering one from your mother, both on the subject of overtures of Marriage made by the former to your Cousin, Harriot Washington; which, it seems depend upon my consent for consummation.

"My sister speaks of Mr. Parks as a sober, descent

man; and one who is attentive to business. Mr. Parks says of himself that his fortune at present does not exceed £3000, but with industry and oeconomy, he has expectations of rapidly improving his condition. . . .

"As I am an entire stranger to Mr. Parks,—to his family connexions and his connexions in trade;—to his mode of living;—his habits and his prospects in trade, I should be glad if you would ascertain the within with as much precision as you can, and write me with as little delay as you can well avoid.

"Harriot having little or no fortune of her own, has no right to expect a great one in the man she marrys;—but it is desirable that she shall marry a gentleman;—one who is well connected, and can support her decently, in the life she has always moved, otherwise she will not find matrimony with a large family and little means, so eligible as she may have conceived it to be."

Two years later another family letter was written to Daniel Stuart of Annapolis, because of great anxiety for the well-being of a third of the ever-present company of relatives for whom Washington was providing. This time Washington Custis was the subject. "He appears to be moped & Stupid, says Nothing, and is always in some hole or corner excluded from Company." His conduct was in other ways extraordinary. What was the cause of his irritableness? Could his correspondent learn for him the truth?

The letter just quoted is all the more remarkable because it was penned at a time of great anxiety. Once again the country was in need, and the man who thought he had retired for the last time was asked to undertake further military leadership. War with France was freely talked of; it was felt that it could not be avoided. Who

but Washington could be asked to take the lead of the army to be raised for the war? This is what President John Adams thought, for he wrote, on July 7, 1798:

"Mr. McHenry, the Secretary at War, will have the Honor to wait on you, in my behalf, to impart to you a step I have ventured to take, and which I should have been happy to have communicated to you in person, if such a journey had been, at the present time, in my power. As I said in a former letter if it had been in my power to nominate you to be President of the United States, I should have done it with less hesitation and more pleasure. My reasons for the measure will be too well known to need any explanation to the Public. Every Friend and Every Enemy of America will comprehend them at first blush. To you, Sir, I owe all the apologies I can make. The urgent necessity I am in, of your advice and assistance, indeed of your Conduct and Direction of the War, is all I can urge, and that is a sufficient justification to myself and the world. I hope it will be so considered by yourself. Mr. McHenry will have the honor to consult you upon the organization of the army and upon every Thing relating to it."

Of course Washington accepted the appointment. What else could such a man as he do, even if he did long for quiet for the brief remainder of his days? Fortunately, the war clouds were dissipated, and the necessity of leaving Mount Vernon disappeared.

Only a little more than a year of life then remained to the Father of his Country. In 1799 he died after a brief illness. And from that time not only his countrymen, but men from all over the world have united in praise of his marvelous life—not unreasoning praise, but eulogies which seem more reasonable as time passes, and his

character, and the history of the country for which he gave himself become better known.

When the volume of letters on agricultural subjects, written to Alexander Young and Sir John Sinclair, found its way into print, the latter asked:

"Is there, on the whole, any individual, either in ancient or modern history, who has prouder claim to distinction and fewer enemies, than the great character whose letters this volume contains? His military talents . . . his powers as a statesman, and as the founder of a constitution . . . cannot possibly be questioned. His public virtues . . . His literary endowments . . . The pen of the immortal Shakespeare is alone competent to the task, and on the tombstone of the illustrious Washington, let it be engraved:

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man.'
"Take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again."

One of the finest estimates ever written is that of John Richard Green, in his Short History of the English People:

"No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life. Washington was grave and courteous in address; his manner was simple and unpretending; his silence and the serene calmness of his temper spoke of a perfect self-mastery: but there was little in his outer bearing to reveal the grandeur of his soul which lifts his figure, with all the simple majesty of an ancient statue, out of the smaller passions, the meaner impulses of the world around him. What recommended his command was

simply his weight among his fellow landowners of Virginia, and the experience of war which he had gained by service in border contests with the French and the Indians, as well as in Braddock's luckless expedition against Fort Duquesne. It was only as the weary fight went on that the colonists learned little by little the greatness of their leader, his clear judgment, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger and defeat, the patience with which he waited, the quickness and hardness with which he struck, the lofty and serene sense of duty that never swerved from the task through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a meaner ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fireside when that freedom was secured. It was almost unconsciously that some learned to cling to Washington with a trust and faith such as few other men have won, and to regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in the presence of his memory."

And that estimate appeared in the midst of the section of a history of England devoted to the war with the Colonies of America!

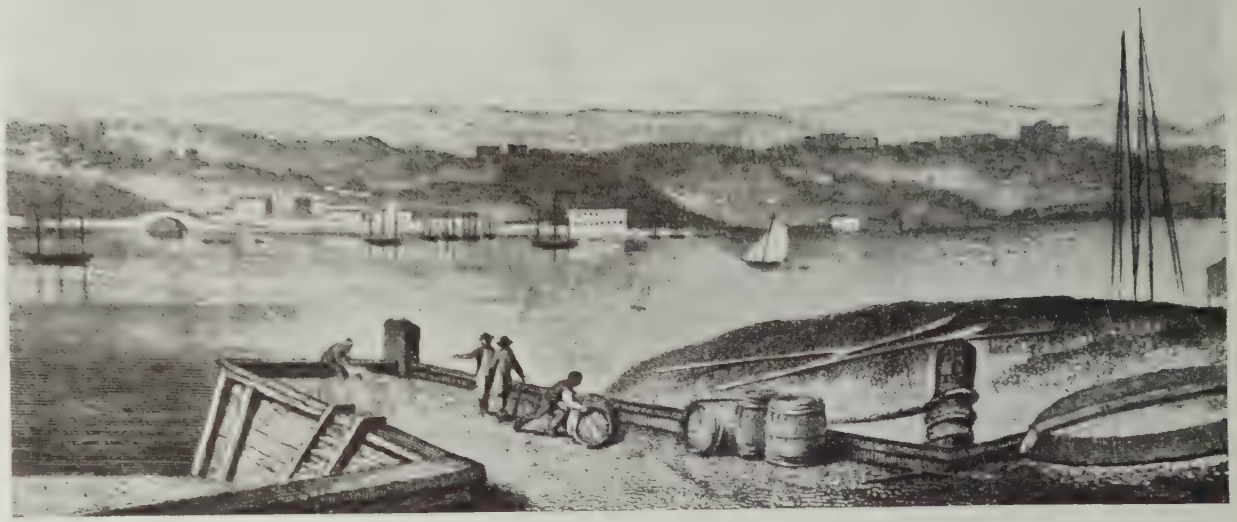
Now take Lord Bryce, who, in *The American Commonwealth,* said:

"Washington stands alone and unapproachable, like a snow peak rising above its fellows into the clear air of morning, with a dignity, constancy, and purity which have made him the ideal type of civic virtue to succeeding generations. No greater benefit could have befallen the Republic than to have such a type set from the first before the eyes and minds of the people."

Let David Lloyd-George, the great war Premier of

England, speak as he spoke in Philadelphia on October 5, 1923:

"We claim that the real founder of the British empire, as we know it, was George Washington. He taught us how to become a democratic empire."



WASHINGTON, D. C., IN 1800
(Reproduced from an Old Engraving, by the Courtesy of the Librarian of Congress)

AN EARLY VIEW OF WASHINGTON, D. C.
(Reproduced from an Old Engraving, by the Courtesy of the Librarian of Congress)

CHAPTER VII

THE CAPITAL IN THE WOODS

OF THE many problems that vexed the first Congress under the Constitution, at the meeting in New York City in 1789, none was more insistent, or a cause of greater differences, than that of the permanent seat of government.

Where should the capital be fixed? Should it continue to be subject to migration as it had ever since the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia? During fifteen years the capital had been in eight cities and towns in four different states. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, York, Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, and New York had entertained Congress with more or less satisfaction to that body of earnest patriots. Was this the best possible arrangement?

Some thought it was: what could be a better solution of one problem incident to the jealousies of the states than such a partnership agreement?

But others—and George Washington was one of them —felt that there could be a far better plan. Why not solve the vexed question of state jealousies by placing the capital city outside of any state? Why not have a Federal District, somewhere in the midst of the country, but subject to no state, a law unto itself?

The idea met with much favor. But there was, of course, great difference of opinion as to the location of the Federal District. New England did not wish to see

it placed in the South, and the South did not like the idea of New England. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania had become so accustomed to being at the heart of the nation's life that they were eager for a decision that would keep the capital near them. Different sections began to vie with one another in offering land, and sometimes money or buildings, for the use of the government; their hope was that the scarcity of money in the struggling young country would make such an offer decisive.

The intensity of partisan interest is apparent from a curious little book published at Philadelphia in 1789, *An Essay on the Seat of the Federal Government,* written in the effort to postpone the day of final decision. The author urged that Congress had it in its power to obtain every accommodation for themselves which could be necessary for many years, in a situation nearly in the center of population, and that without expense to the states, since Philadelphia would furnish the needed buildings. The cost of buildings to the nation would be at least $100,000, and the country was in no condition to bear such an immense drain on its resources. So why raise the question of a change until the finances were in a better state?

Another argument for delay was given: "The internal geography . . . of the United States" is "not sufficiently defined and understood, to enable us to fix even the centrality of the states, and ascertain many other things absolutely necessary to be known and considered, in determining the permanent seat of government. Therefore 'tis prudent to put off that determination."

More, four or five states would soon be knocking at the door of Congress. Was it not unreasonable to push decision of a question by only a part of the whole?

The difference of opinion in Congress was urged against an immediate decision. The majority for any location would be very small, so there would probably be much dissatisfaction. The result might be the destruction of mutual confidence and good humor.

"Centrality" was in the minds of those who argued for some favorite location; but there should be a centrality of population, not of territory: "it cannot matter much whether the seat of government is at little or great distance from those parts of the country which consist of uninhabited woods and lakes."

Since the center of population was a moving point, it would continue so, until the population of every part of the territory should be "compleat," and become invariable, "which in the common course of human events can never happen."

Having spoken thus in a general way, the author became more pertinent. He said there must be, in a fitting capital, accommodations for business. "But it is certain," he insisted, "that there is little chance for such accommodation on the desart banks of the Patowmack or Susquehanna, for many, many years to come."

The seat of government "ought to be in a place of the greatest attainable intelligence, and should be placed where the manufacture, agriculture, trade and wealth of the country can receive the best encouragement and protection."

It was agreed that the capital should be close to one of the seats of navigation and trade. Then why not place it near to the greatest seat of them?

All these considerations, it was pointed out, indicated Philadelphia as the site, since it was near the geographical center, it was the "greatest center of wealth, trade, navi-

gation, and intelligence, both foreign and domestic, which is anywhere found in the United States." To this statement was added the self-satisfied assurance, "This needs no proof."

But while such arguments as these were being made, the contest went merrily on. At one time Germantown, Philadelphia, actually had a majority of the vote of both houses of Congress. However, this action was reconsidered, and for a time the favored location was on the banks of the Susquehanna, opposite Columbia.

At length the advocates of a site on the Potomac River had the best of the argument, in spite of New England's contention that the country there was unhealthy, and the despairing appeal of Philadelphia that she be not left desolate.

One of the powerful influences at work was George Washington's known fondness of the Potomac. In a letter, written after the decision was made, he showed what his feelings were, though he very successfully masked them when the question was up for decision. The letter, written on December 5, 1791, to Arthur Young, Esquire, of Bury, England, said:

"Potomack River is the center of the Union. It is between the extremes of heat and cold. It is the river, more than any other in my opinion, which must, in the natural progress of things, connect by its inland navigation . . . the Atlantic States with the vast region . . . to the westward of it."

Sufficient Eastern votes for the plan to locate the Federal District on the Potomac were secured by the promise of the South to support the proposal that the United States assume the debts of the states. Then Pennsylvania was placated by a compromise which gave to Philadelphia

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C. 1834
(From an Old Print)

ABIGAIL ADAMS
(From a Model in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.)
(See page 149)

the capital during ten years. This compromise was proposed by Alexander Hamilton at the home of Thomas Jefferson, who had arranged with him to discuss the question with dinner guests carefully selected for the purpose of listening to the proposal. During that period the Federal District could be laid out, and buildings erected for the accommodation of the government.

When the decisive vote was taken, on July 9, 1790, the Potomac site secured a majority of two votes in the Senate, and three in the House. The precise spot was not agreed on; the President was given power to select any site on the River Potomac, between the north of the Eastern Branch (the Anacostia) and a designated spot, near Hagerstown, Maryland—a distance of perhaps one hundred miles.

This broad definition of the power assigned to Washington would have entitled him to go, if he had desired, say to Harpers Ferry. The notion that he went much farther west than he did persisted for many years. In 1800 such a well-informed man as Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, wrote to a friend: "In 1800 we go to the Indian place with the long name on the Potomac." (He meant the Conococheague—a stream famous among the pioneers, who called it Conocojig.)

The interest of the adjacent states in the proposition had been shown by a vote of the necessary lands. Virginia offered also $120,000 for buildings, while Maryland was ready to give $72,000. Later on the latter state offered a loan of $250,000, with the understanding that the buildings were to be erected on the north shore of the river.

Of curious interest, in connection with Virginia's gift, is a letter from Edmund Randolph, Attorney General of the United States, who, on August 21, 1794, wrote:

"I am instructed by the President of the United States to ask instructions from the Treasurer of Virginia, whether the arrearages of the Virginia donation to the federal city can be now paid. The public service suffers much from the want of it; and I must therefore request an answer as soon as may be convenient. If the money cannot be immediately advanced, the President would be glad to know when, in your judgment, that it may be received."

The seventeen owners of property on the Maryland side of the Potomac arranged with Washington to turn over their land to the government. Then, on March 30, 1791, the President announced the site as chosen; and said the capital was to be called The Federal City. To this name he adhered to the end of his life, though on December 1, 1791, Congress named the capital the City of Washington, and spoke of the site as the Territory of Columbia. This name was later changed to the District of Columbia.

The commission to design the Federal City was given to Major Charles L'Enfant, an ambitious French engineer who applied for it. Washington's knowledge of his work as the architect of the remodeled New York City Hall, in which the first President of the United States was inaugurated, and as a soldier in the Revolution, led to the favorable consideration of the application.

At the request of L'Enfant, Thomas Jefferson, who was Washington's Secretary of State, sent to the young engineer his own maps of Frankfort-on-the-Main, Amsterdam, Strasburg, Paris, Orléans, Bordeaux, Milan, Marseilles, Montpellier, and Turin. L'Enfant did not wish to copy from them; he was enough of a genius to do original work. He did wish to refresh his mind as to the best things in European cities.

But L'Enfant had more than the maps and his own genius at his disposal; he had Washington, who not only knew the principles of surveying, but had the benefit of long experience in putting these principles at work.

Jefferson, who was intensely interested in the project, in 1791 asked Major Andrew Ellicot to go to Georgetown, there to begin the survey of the District of Columbia. The first steps were taken on February 14. On June 26 he wrote to his wife Sally:

"The country through which we are now cutting one of the ten mile lines is very poor; I think for near seven miles on it there is not one house that has any floor except the earth; and what is more strange, it is in the neighborhood of Alexandria, and George-Town,—we find but little Forest, except Huckel berries, and live in our camp, as retired as we used to do on Lake Erie. . . . Laboring hands in this country can scarcely be had at any rate—my estimate was twenty, but have had to wade slowly thro' with six . . . the scarcity of hands will lengthen out the ten miles beyond what I intended. As the president is so much attracted to the country, I would not be willing that he should know of my real sentiments about it. But with you (my Dear) whose love and affection I have constantly experienced almost from my infancy, I am not afraid to make my sentiments known."

The letter closed with a most uncomplimentary comparison:

"The country intended for the Permanent Residence of Congress has no more proportion to the country about Philadelphia, and German Town, for either wealth or fertility, than a Crane does to a stall-fed ox."

But Washington did not share the dismay of many others. On December 12, 1793, in a letter to his friend,

Arthur Young, in England, he declared: "The Federal City is increasing fast in buildings, and rising into consequence; and will, I have no doubt, from the advantages given to it by nature, and the proximity to a rich interior country, and the Western Territory, become the emporium of the United States."

The first large contract for the sale of lots was made toward the close of 1793. Then Robert Morris and James Greenleaf bought 6,000 lots at $80 each. The amount due was promised in seven yearly payments, without interest, and the promise was made that twenty brick houses, two stories high, would be built each year. The proceeds of this and other sales were to be devoted, first, to the payment of the original owners of the land, at £25 per acre. The failure of the purchasers to make the second payment was the beginning of many difficulties that had to be surmounted by the persistent builders of the city.

Not least of these difficulties was the campaign of those who spoke discouragingly of the project. It was not pleasant to hear such opinions from citizens. But some of the misrepresentations on the part of those who did not belong in the country would have been humorous, if they had not been annoying. A volume published in London, bearing the warning title, *Look Before You Leap,* included documents of this character—letters purporting to be from laborers and tradesmen who had come to America lured by the prospect of work in the wonderful new city.

One of these men, a carpenter, who wrote from Alexandria on June 17, 1795, declared that what he had been told in England concerning the city of Washington was "all a mere fabrication, and a story invented to induce

young fellows to come to this part of the world." He went on: "Most of our adventurers have been egregiously disappointed. . . . What will you say when I inform you that there is not forty houses in this extensive metropolis. . . . In fact, if it is a city, it is in embrio, which will not come to perfection for these two centuries, if it ever does at all."

Now for a stonemason's opinion. Writing on July 4, 1795, he told of working on the Capitol "where the Congress are to meet *as soon as* the city is built!" The foundation of the building was "rising out of the ground, and consists of a rugged, flinty stone."

He, too, paid his respects to the forty houses, not half finished, and he spoke also of the wooden huts, "the worst I ever beheld." The plan of the city was ridiculed: "The fine streets so pompously laid out on the map which was examined in London, are avenues cut through the woods, with not a solitary house standing on either of them." Moreover, he was sure the site was not healthy. "The hills are barren of anything but impenetrable woods, and the valleys are mere swamps, producing nothing except myriads of toads and frogs (of an enormous size) with other nauseous reptiles."

This correspondent was most unfair to George Washington when he added:

"I think he manifested a great portion of vanity in the ardent desire he has expressed in wishing to perpetuate his name, by building a metropolis under so many disadvantages, both in respect of climate and situation. During his life, it may out of compliment to him be carried on in a slow manner, but I am apprehensive as soon as he is defunct, the city which is to be the boasted monument to his greatness, will also be the same. The American gov-

ernment do not enter into the business with speed, for there is not above one hundred and fifty mechanics of all descriptions employed here at present, and what progress they will be able to make in building a metropolis upon the exterior plans laid out, I leave you to judge."

One of the gravest difficulties encountered in developing the city arose from its extent; it was made large enough to care for 800,000 people—more than one-sixth of the population of the United States! Surely the men who had the vision of the city were building for the future!

It was one thing to admire the extent of the site on the plan, but it was altogether different to grow enthusiastic over the great distances that, perforce, separated the early buildings. As lots were sold, purchasers were directed to different parts of the city, and as houses were erected it was planned that they should be in as many sections as possible. The natural result was bitter rivalry. When Ainsworth R. Spofford, long Librarian of Congress, wrote of the early days on the occasion of the centennial of the District, he told how Georgetown owners of lots declared their property the most eligible, because situated near the principal existing settlement, and boasted the port of Georgetown and its well-founded commerce, while Washington was a forest swamp without a harbor. On the other hand, Greenleaf's Point lot owners sang the praises of that situation as the most airy, healthful, and beautiful in the city. Others claimed their location as the best, because nearest to the Capitol, and most likely to be settled by the members of Congress when that body should move there in 1800.

It is diverting to recall the observations of early visitors to the city, observations as contradictory as the boasts of the sectional lot owners. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld

Liancourt, who saw the city in 1796, said its plan was "both judicious and noble." Yet he felt the plan could not be carried out; it was "no better than a dream."

He saw 150 houses scattered over the vast surface of the city. "The Federal City will never reach that degree of importance to render it even a tolerable abode for the kind of persons for whom it was designed," was his judgment. After visiting Thomas Law, a wealthy man who had brought his fortune to America and had invested it in Washington, he said:

"I could not felicitate Mr. Law on the speculation which induced him to purchase lots in the new settlement, and thought that he might have made a more prudent use of his great property. His fortune is superior to the proudest fortunes in America, and he might have lived on his own revenues with splendor. He has wilfully plunged himself into an abyss of cares, and all the contentions of the distracted city, which not only prevent the enjoyment of his fortune, but even endanger it."

Thomas Twining, too, was critical after he paid a visit to Mr. Law in 1796. From Georgetown he tried in vain to secure a conveyance to take him to Greenleaf Point, where that wealthy man resided, and he was finally compelled to go on horseback through what he called "a silent wilderness."

But Mr. Law was not disturbed by the shaking of the heads of his friends. He had bought 500 lots and had built a block of houses. And he was as full of optimism as Charles Pictet, the visitor from Switzerland who, in 1795, said the city would "secure to the capital of America advantages which no city before it will have possessed."

Francis Baily, who came from London to Washington in 1796, was as full of praise as Pictet:

"All tends to render it one of the most delightful and pleasant sites for a town I have ever remarked."

For contrast, look at Gouverneur Morris, who in 1801 sought Washington for the inauguration of Jefferson. Perhaps he ought not to be held accountable for his unfavorable opinion, since it was reached after his stage had stalled in the mire when near Washington, so that he spent ten hours in going twenty-five miles. With gentle sarcasm he said: "We only need here houses, cellars, kitchens, scholarly men, amiable women, and a few other such trifles, to possess a perfect city. In a word, this is the best city in the world—in the future." Within a few months John Davis, Englishman, added his testimony to that of Morris: "There were no objects to catch the eye but a forlorn pilgrim forcing his way through the grass that overruns the streets, or a cow munching on the bank."

These men were content with prose. But Thomas Moore needed poetry to give expression to his thoughts. In 1804 he wrote:

"The embryo Capital, where fancy sees
Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees;
Which second-sighted seers e'en now adorn
With shrines unbuilt, and heroes yet unborn,
Though nought but woodland Jefferson they see,
Where streets should run, and sages ought to be."

The prose opinion of Robert Sutcliffe, the English Quaker, given in 1804, must have seemed more like poetry to George Washington and to others who would not abate one jot of their faith in the infant metropolis. For he spoke of the situation as "one of the most eligible spots for a city" that he had even seen. "It bids fair to be one

of the most elegant and regularly built cities in the world," he concluded.

Baron von Humboldt, fresh from travels that had taken him into many distant parts of the world, was not afraid to say, in 1804, "I have never seen a more beautiful panorama in all my travels."

Yet in 1806 Charles W. Jansen was just as positive in his condemnation of the city. He wrote a diatribe that was printed under the caption, "Failure of the City of Washington." He had entered the city by avenues, pompously called; these were the worst roads he had seen in the country. So also of the stage roads near the city:

"Deep ruts, rocks and stumps of trees every minute impede your progress, and threaten your limbs with dislocation. . . . Several companies purchased lots and began to build, with an ardor that soon promised a large and populous city. Before they arrived at the cellar story, the failure was manifest, and in that state are the walls of many houses begun on a plan of elegance. The President's house, the offices of State, and a little theatre, where an itinerant company repeated the lines of Shakespeare, Otway and Dryden to empty benches, terminate the view of the Pennsylvania or Grand Avenue. . . . The boasted avenue is as much a wilderness as Kentucky. Some half-starved cattle browsing among the bushes formed a melancholy spectacle to a stranger, when expectation has been warmed up by the illusive descriptions of speculative writers. So very thinly is the city peopled, and so little is it frequented, that quails and other birds are constantly shot within a hundred yards of the Capitol. Strangers, after seeing the offices of State, are apt to inquire for the city, while they are in its very centre."

Long before the visit that led Jansen to make his bitter

comments, the capital city was actually occupied by those for whom it had been prepared. On May 13, 1800, Congress called the next session for Washington in November of that year. Two days later President Adams issued an order:

"The President requests the several heads of departments to take the most prudent and economical arrangements for the removal of the public offices, clerks, and papers, according to their own best judgment, as soon as may be convenient, in such manner that the public offices may be opened in the city of Washington for the despatch of business by the 15th of June."

The contract for the removal of the government archives was awarded to Israel Whelan. His bill for "the transportation of the President's furniture and the records and furniture of the public offices from Philadelphia to the city of Washington," was approved in 1801. This bill, swollen by the necessity of various payments for carpenter work, porterage and insurance, came to the startling sum of $15,293.23. Of this amount he was allowed nearly $400 for his own services!

How Philadelphians must have been interested in the vessels which, after loading at the wharf, sailed down the Delaware, bound for the new home of the government! And how the residents of Washington must have cheered as these schooners sailed up the Potomac, giving substance to the hopes of many years!

Abraham Bradley, Jr., Assistant Postmaster-General, has left a record of his impressions as he arrived at his new home, late in May, 1800:

"I have . . . taken a large three-story house within a few rods of Blodgett's Hotel, which will accommodate the offices and my family and the postmaster's office. It

is about equidistant from the President's house and the Capitol. It is impossible that all the people attached to the public offices should be accommodated with houses, the few that have been left are at rents from $250 to $300. Provisions are plenty, good enough, and cheaper than in Philadelphia. You can buy a peck of field strawberries for a five-penny bit."

A few days after the coming of Mr. Bradley, the *Centinel of Liberty* said:

"The President of the United States arrived in this place on Tuesday last. At the boundary line of the District of Columbia he was met by a large crowd of citizens on horseback and escorted into town, where he was received with pleasure and veneration. The military of the city of Washington and the marines stationed there manifested their respect by sixteen discharges of musketry and artillery" [one for each state in the Union].

The chief addition to the city's population came with the arrival of 136 clerks by stage or by private carriage. These clerks, who were allowed all their expenses, put in bills amounting to less than fifty thousand dollars. Thus the entire expense of moving the capital was only about $64,000.

The final step in the removal was the entry of President Adams into the house provided for him on his return from Quincy, Massachusetts, late in October, 1800. The *Centinel of Liberty* said: "He occupies the building erected for the accommodation of the Chief Magistrate."

In November, after Mrs. Adams joined her husband, she wrote to her daughter:

"I arrived here on Sunday last, and without any accident worth noting, except losing ourselves when we left Baltimore, and going eight or nine miles on the Frederick

road, by which means we were obliged to go the other eight miles through woods, where we wandered for eight hours, without finding a guide, or the path. Fortunately a straggling black came up with us, and we engaged him as a guide to extricate us out of our difficulty; but woods are all you see, from Baltimore, until you reach the city, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing any human being. In the city there are buildings enough, if they were compact and furnished, to accommodate Congress and those attached to it; but as they are, and scattered as they are, I see no great comfort for them."

Her description of the grand house was not more flattering:

"To assist us in the great Castle, and render less attendance necessary, bells are wholly wanting, not one single one being hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain. . . . If they will put me up some bells, and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased. . . . But, surrounded by forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it? . . . The house is made habitable, but there is not a single apartment finished. . . . We have not the least fence, yard, or other convenience, without, and the great unfurnished audience room I make a drying room of, to hang up the clothes in. The principal stairs are not up, and will not be this winter."

A comment on Mrs. Adams's plaintive word about wood is the advertisement, in a Georgetown paper, on July 7, 1800, for 500 cords of wood, oak and hickory, for the use of the Treasury Department.

Years passed. The city improved gradually and the

WASHINGTON, D. C., FROM THE AIR
(Official Photograph, U. S. Army Air Service)

"VIEW OF THE ATTACK ON BUNKER HILL, WITH THE BURNING OF CHARLESTON, JUNE 17, 1775"
(From Barnard's New Complete and Authentic "History of England") (See page 153)

public buildings were more presentable. Then came the interruption in 1814 when the British troops burned the White House, the Capitol, and the Treasury Building, to the dismay of the 8,000 inhabitants.

John Richard Green, in his Short History of the English People, gives the sorrowful tale:

"General Ross, with a force of four thousand men, appeared in the Potomac, captured Washington, and before evacuating the city, burnt its public buildings to the ground. Few more shameful acts are recorded in our history; and it was the more shameful in that it was done under strict orders from the Government at home."

Good came out of the incident, however. After the war, Washington entered on a new era of development which has made it one of the world's most beautiful cities.

In the words of Charles Moore, Chairman of Fine Arts of the District of Columbia:

"We acknowledge with gratitude that the founders of the Republic had the wisdom and taste, and faith and vision, to plan wisely and nobly, that their successors in large measure have realized the dream of the fathers, and especially that there remains for us service to be done in carrying on to future generations the heritage from the past."

CHAPTER VIII

HOW THE CITIES LOOKED

IT IS said that the first resident of Boston was a minister named William Blackstone. Among his few possessions was a bull, which became his steed as he went his errands along the shore or back into the country. Some have declared that the paths the bull made became the first streets of the town founded in 1630 by John Winthrop and his followers. At any rate, this is as good as the explanation that the cows pastured in later years on the Boston Common—the forty-eight acres bought from Blackstone when he moved away from the trying proximity of so many people—laid out the streets when they went to and from their daily recreation and feeding grounds.

Some of these early streets ambled along by the side of marshes like that of which Benjamin Franklin wrote in his autobiography, a favorite playground of himself and his boyhood companions. A popular amusement, of course, was fishing. But the difficulty was that the marsh soon became a quagmire, because they walked in it so much. So Benjamin suggested the building of a wharf from which they could fish. Material, he showed them, was ready at hand; he pointed to a pile of cobblestones. To be sure, these were intended for building a house by the side of a marsh. But hear the youthful philosopher tell the sequel:

"When the workmen retired in the evening, I assembled a number of my play-fellows, and by laboring dili-

gently, like ants, sometimes four of us uniting our strength to carry a single stone, we removed them all, and constructed our little quay."

Naturally the workmen were surprised, complaints were made, and dire punishment resulted. But a new set of builders had made their mark in Boston.

More than one hundred years passed. Builders many were busy about the Common, and far back from the Common, on all sides, houses and business establishments filled the gaps in the streets until the little town of Franklin's boyhood became the city of the Tea Party, of the British occupation, of the anxious early days of the nation.

Many distinguished visitors walked the crooked streets, admired the picturesque old city, and left such records of their approval that their names are held in grateful remembrance. One of the most kindly of these visitors was Charles Dickens, who found in Boston things that led him to make comments quite different from those that caused displeasure to some other cities he saw on his tour. It was in 1842 that he spoke of the houses bright and gay, the signboards painted in gaudy colors, the golden gilded letters, the red bricks, the white stone, the bright knobs of plate upon the street doors, that made the city seem like a pantomime. He declared it was beautiful, not only because of its homes, but because of its situation. And in that judgment visitors of several centuries have concurred.

From Boston to New York was a long jump in Colonial days, but soon many travelers made their way from one city to the other. Perhaps visitors from the north were few during the days of the Dutch New Amsterdam, but from across the Atlantic came curious observers who told of the fort on Bowling Green, surrounded by the red brick

houses of the people; of the main road that went north from the fort, the Broadway of later days, and another road that went south to the ferry from Long Island, opened in 1642. In those days the houses displayed gable ends to the roads. And from these houses, in 1644, went forth the burghers who had been warned to go with their tools to the scene of the building of a fence "beginning at the Great Bouwery and extending to Emmanuel's Plantation." This fence, designed as a protection against Indians, as well as a guard for cattle, was predecessor of the palisade built in 1653 which gave the name to Wall Street.

In 1671 a man named John Ogilby published in London a description of America in which he told of New York's wonderful situation "looking toward the sea, encompassed with Hudson's River, which is six miles broad." It had houses "built much after the manner of Holland to the number of about four hundred." At about the same time Daniel Dunton was more circumstantial; he said that the city was "built mostly of brick and stone and covered with red and black tile. The inhabitants consisted of English and Dutch, and they lived by trading with the Indians for bear, otter, raccoon, and other furs, and for bear, deer, and elk skins."

The information printed by visitors in early days was not always accurate. And as time passed their reliability did not improve. Witness the laughable blunders made by English writers, as recorded in 1802 by a contributor to the Worcester *Spy*. One declared that New York had three thousand houses and twelve thousand people. Another said that there were five thousand people, "chiefly of Dutch extraction." And another told of the admirable way of conducting elections in the city by the Hudson.

NEW YORK CITY IN EARLY DAYS
(From an Old Print) (See page 154)

AN EARLY VIEW OF PHILADELPHIA
(From "The Stranger in America," London, 1807) (See page 157)

"On the appointed day all the citizens take care to be at home at a certain hour, at which time the inspectors of the election go through the city with ballot boxes in their hand, and call at every door for votes, whereupon the citizens step to their doors, and deposit their ballots in the same small boxes, which are straightway carried to the City Hall; the votes are there examined, and then the election is determined in a few hours, without uproar or inconvenience."

When New York was the capital of the nation, in 1789, the northern limits were close to the old Brick Church. Not far from the later erection of the Tombs on Centre Street was a great pool of clear, fresh water, sixty feet deep. From what is now Canal Street to the Hudson River was a series of swamps. When the proposition was made that the waste ground be purchased for park purposes, the suggestion was ridiculed, for it was not thought that the bounds of the city would ever reach so far. A writer in *The Magazine of American History* has told how, at this period, drinking water came from the old pump, near the head of Pearl Street, being distributed in water carts whose proprietor sold his stock by the gallon or by the cask. Another custom that seems as absurd to-day was for each household to sweep the street before his door twice each week; those who failed to do so found from the law unpleasant reminders.

One of these veracious chroniclers located New York on the Delaware River, while another said that six hundred miles up the Hudson from New York was Albany! Perhaps some of the citizens of the latter place would have been glad to be so far away from men in New York, who sought vengeance, in 1763, because the corporation of the city of Albany "had, in a riotous manner, pulled down

the Fence which had been Erected to Secure the Provision Storehouse belonging to the King near that town alledging that the Ground on which the said Storehouse" was built, belonged to the corporation. The mayor was assured that the fence was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the storehouse, and was told to restore it. When he paid no attention to the demand, suit was brought by the Crown.

In 1797 Morse's *American Gazetteer* told of 1,263 buildings in Albany. The book added that there were "6,021 inhabitants, many of them of the Gothic style, with the Gable end to the street, which custom the first settlers brought from Holland." Probably the writer was much concerned when the finished book showed that he seemed to be speaking of people rather than of houses. But surely the error was fortunate—it has added to the gayety of thousands.

Although the distance between New York and Albany was not great, there was far more communication between the city at the mouth of the Hudson and Penn's Colony on the Delaware. For, though founded half a century later than New York, Philadelphia soon passed it in population, becoming the chief city and the foremost commercial center in the Colonies. In 1685, when about three years old, the population was 7,000, and there were some 600 houses. At this period the streets not only bore the names Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce, and Pine, but many trees of these and other species were to be found all over the site. This was the reason for the choice of the woodsy names by Thomas Holme, the surveyor who laid out the checkerboard city.

Thomas Pownal, in 1755, told how "all the plans of Philadelphia represent it as extending from the River

Delaware to the Schuylkill." This, he added, was the original plan held out to the first settlers, and that William Penn had sold many lots on the banks of the Schuylkill as dear as those on the banks of the Delaware. He thought the founder had not been true, since he thought it improbable that the town should ever have such extent; "it does not extend one-third of the way."

Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, who found a town a mile long, with twenty thousand people, said that the first lot-owners began to build on both rivers, but that they soon learned their folly. "The plan therefore about the river Skulkill was laid aside till more favorable circumstances should occur, and the houses were only built along the Delaware. The houses which had already been built upon the Skulkill were transplanted hitherto by degrees."

Yet Kalm felt that the growth was surprising:

"It will be easy to conceive how the city should rise so suddenly from nothing, into such grandeur and proportion, without supposing any powerful monarch's contributing to it . . . and yet its fine appearance, good regulation, agreeable situation, natural advantages, trade, riches, and power, are by no means inferior to those of any, even of the most ancient towns of Europe . . . other countries which have been peopled for a long space of time, complain of the small number of their inhabitants. But Pennsylvania, which was not better than a desert in the year 1681, and hardly contained four hundred people, now vies with several kingdoms of Europe in number of inhabitants."

Still the city of Colonial days had much room for improvement. In the heart of old Philadelphia, adjoining Independence Square, is Washington Square, which, in 1758, was an unsightly piece of ground, filled with brick-

bats, stones, and rubbish. This unattractive ground was long set apart as the Potter's Field.

When Washington made his first journeys from Philadelphia to his home at Mount Vernon, Baltimore was a small but growing town. Even in 1752 two hundred people lived there. During the Revolution it was an important town, and during the War of 1812 it was the scene of heroic incidents. In 1819 John Wood, traveler from England, who was on his way to Illinois, spoke of the many new buildings there. He told approvingly the fact that the city was planned before building had made much progress, so that it was very regular. "Should the place ever be completed," he concluded, "it will be a large and noble city."

One of Wood's companions started early for a day's shooting. But his appearance at an unseasonable hour, carrying a musket, alarmed the "city-watch," and he was taken to the "watch-house," from which he was liberated when his status as a stranger was assured. Naturally he postponed his shooting expedition until daylight.

In 1745 William Logan, bound from Philadelphia, passed through Baltimore, through Richmond—then a lusty infant eight years of age—to Charleston, which he was surprised to find a town of about one thousand houses, "many of them Very Large," and so "pleasantly situated that a person may stand at his Door and see all Vessels come up Even from the Sea."

Charleston's next city neighbor was Savannah, the town which Oglethorpe began on February 9, 1733, by marking out "the Square, the Streets and fifty lots for Houses." The first house was begun that very day. A palisade was built, and other preparations were made which resulted in the city on the Savannah River, toward which lovers

of beauty from John Bartram, the Colonial botanist, to the more modern John Muir, have turned with delight.

For the Colonial traveler it was a far cry from Savannah to Mobile, but those who saw the two were loud in praise of both. Not until 1763 did the city by Fort St. Louis, which De Bienville had built in 1711, pass into English hands. That it was an appreciated acquisition may be seen from the words of an English description prepared soon after the transfer of authority over the fort. He said:

"The Bay of Mobile forms a most noble and spacious harbor, running north to the several mouths of the Halabama and Chickasaw Rivers. It affords very good anchorage, and is capable of containing the whole British navy. . . . The place is now become to us of the utmost consequence, since all the country to the eastward of the Mississippi is ceded to us by the late treaty of peace. The advantageous situation of this harbor, in the very heart of the richest part of the country, is, as it were, a back door to New Orleans, and will ever serve as an unmovable check by inevitably cutting off all communication between the river Mississippi and Europe, and the French western islands."

At about the same time Captain Harry Gorden was not especially enthusiastic concerning New Orleans. He spoke of it as "a small Town, not many good Houses in it, but in general healthy and the Inhabitants well looked. . . . There is only a Stockade round the Place with a large Banquet, their Dependence for Defence is the Difficulty of Approach." Concerning its industry he said: "Its principal Staple is the Trade for Furrs and skins from the Indians; their want of Negroes keeps back the Indigo

industry: They have attempted Sugar, and there are now five Plantations that produce it."

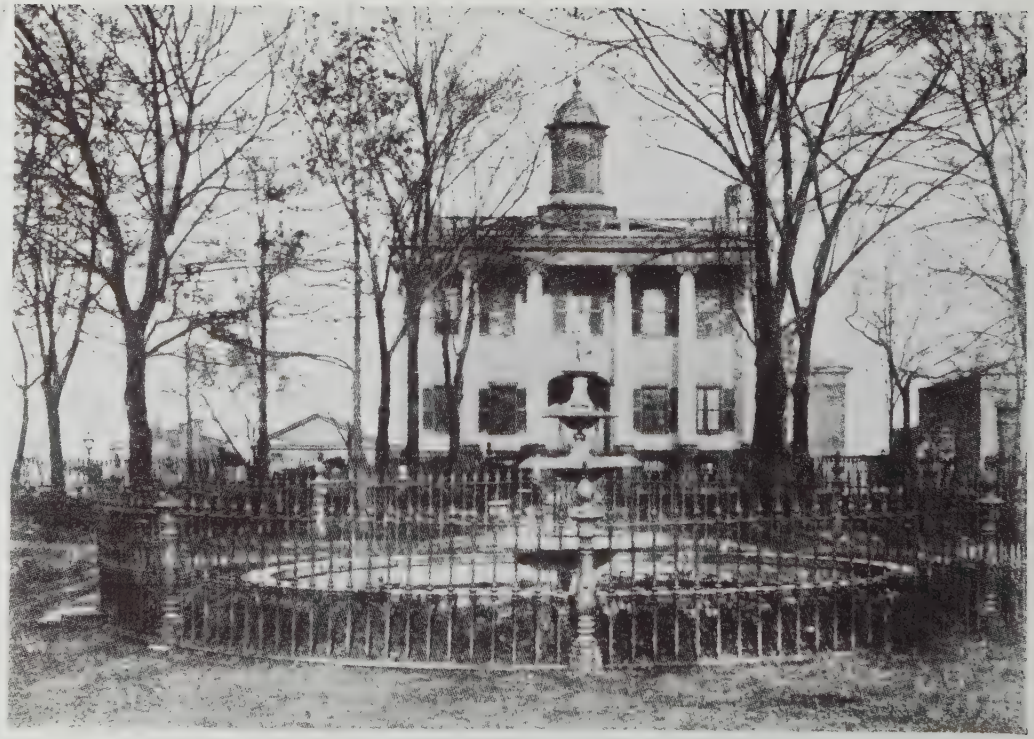
Soon after New Orleans passed with Louisiana into the hands of the United States. Mrs. Anne Royall insisted: "The day is not distant when New Orleans will be the first city in the Union, if not in the world."

Forty years later John Regan, Scotchman, marveled at the busy scene presented by the harbor, where, at one time, there were not less than 1,500 flatboats. The exterior harbor, he said, was crowded during the winter and spring months "with every description of passenger vessels and river craft, steamboats, keelboats, flatboats, broadhorns or arks, timber rafts, &c, which bring down an amazing amount of produce from the great valley above."

Thousands of the flatboat men disposed of vessels as well as cargoes at New Orleans, and trudged overland, back north. Frequently the trip was made by way of Nashville, the town laid out and called Nashborough by James Robertson in 1779, after his perilous overland journey from Virginia. He knew that he was more than six hundred miles from the nearest established government, but he felt sure that the little pioneer community, built on the Cumberland River at a point where Indian trails had centered for hundreds of years, would become an influential city. Andrew Jackson thought as he did, three years later, when he put out his shingle in the new town, and began the practice of law. After the passage of thirty-four years a visitor told of its prosperity, saying that it "is principally built of bricks, and is very handsome, and does much business. In size it is nearly as large as Lexington, Kentucky."

One of Lexington's first citizens was Henry Clay. In 1797, when he entered the town, it was eighteen years

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, IN 1780
(From an Old Print) (See page 158)



OLD COURT HOUSE, BUFFALO, NEW YORK. BUILT IN 1816. TAKEN DOWN IN 1876
(From an Early Photograph)

old. There, he said, he established himself, without patrons, without the favor of the great or opulent, without the means of paying . . . weekly board, and in the midst of a bar uncommonly distinguished by eminent members."

He was glad to add himself to the 1,600 people in the town, which, in 1832, had grown until it could be described in glowing terms:

"The town buildings in general are handsome, and some are magnificent. Few towns in the West or elsewhere are more delightfully situated. Its environs have a singular softness of landscape, and the town wears an air of neatness, opulence, and repose indicating leisure and steadiness rather than the bustle of business and commerce."

Some of the early pioneers, who descended the Ohio River before ascending the Cumberland River to infant Nashville, passed the site of Louisville, the town laid out in 1779 by far-seeing men, at the Falls of the Ohio. The man who is known as the founder is General Clark, who, when on his way to conquer Kaskaskia and Vincennes for the struggling Colonies, paused with his pitiful little army at Corn Island, in the river close by, and there spent the winter. The party was accompanied by a few score home-seekers, who remained at the Falls when the soldiers went on their way. Later many of the soldiers, their work done, joined them there.

Louisville was formed under the common law of Virginia, according to a plan of the court of Kentucky County. According to the minutes of the first meeting of the trustees of the village, it was ordered that lots in the new settlement be distributed by lottery:

"That each adventurer draw for only one lot by equal chance. That every such person be obliged to clear off the undergrowth and begin to cultivate part thereof by

the 10th of June, and build there a good house, 16 x 20 feet, by the 25th of December. That no person sell his lot unless to some person without one, but that it be given to the Trustees to dispose of to some new adventurers, in pain of forfeiture thereof."

If the plan of General Clark had been adhered to, Louisville would have been a wonder among cities; he proposed that many plots be set apart as public parks. But the trustees would not see with his eyes, and they sold all the specified plots, with the exception of the ground for the court house and the graveyard.

A visitor to the young city in 1807 was John J. Audubon, the naturalist, who, in 1835, told his impressions:

"We marked Louisville as a spot designed by nature to become a place of great importance, and had we been as wise as we now are, I might never have published *The Birds of America;* for a few hundred dollars laid out at that period, in lands or house-lots in Louisville would if left to grow over with grass to a date ten years past, have become an immense fortune."

But something better than land investments was made by Captain H. M. Shreve, who, in 1816, placed the steamboat *Louisville* on the route between the city of the Falls and New Orleans. Now he knew that the boat was not constructed or run in accordance with the monopolistic patent of Robert Fulton, which he felt should be attacked, and he understood that he was courting trouble. Yet he felt that the step was necessary if navigation on the western waters was to be developed. The trip to New Orleans was made without accident, but there, as he had expected, the boat was attached. This gave him the opportunity he sought to test the patent in the courts. He won his

case, and so navigation on the Ohio and Mississippi became free.

Another monopoly was broken a few years later. From the first the Falls had been an obstacle to commerce. John Wood in 1819 told of seeing many boats whose crews, especially in time of low water, were obliged to unload them and carry the goods around the Falls. As time passed, the carrying of goods and passengers became quite an industry, and many made their living by it. In fact, the drivers of hacks and drays began to feel that they must be protected in their right to make a good thing out of the obstruction to navigation. Thus the beginning made in 1825 to dig a canal around the Falls aroused the wrath of these men of the whip. But their protests were unavailing, and within five years the canal was in operation.

Not long before the canal project called down the anathemas of the traveler, the practicing physicians of Louisville announced in the *Public Advertiser* that it had become necessary for them to take a step which, they were sure, would lead to accusations of what a later day called profiteering. Although they had formed an association for mutual protection, in this advertisement they disclaimed any avaricious motives. Then they urged the people to remember that prices were rising, and their charges must rise also. But, having made their statement, they went on to pledge themselves "to be equally prompt in retrograding to the ancient standard so soon as there shall be a vista of hope that circumstances may return to the ordinary level." Their final word was not only a masterly stroke to disarm criticism, but it is to-day a telling bit of historical revelation:

"Perhaps no portion of the western world so urgently

requires the medical man to go forth on his walk of duty fully accoutred in the Panoply of Charity—the handmaid of science—as this town, the depot of many a sick and indigent member of the national family from different parts of the union."

Some of these indigent people were emigrants bound down the Ohio, then up the Mississippi to St. Louis, the Mound City, which had already taken a commanding position among western embryo cities. Nearly fifty years had passed since Pierre Laclède, ascending the Mississippi from New Orleans, in search of an advantageous site for a fur-trading post, found what he was sure "might become hereafter one of the finest cities of America." There the men whose firm had been given, by the Governor General of Louisiana, a sole license to deal for furs with the Indians, made their stand. The industry began at that early day has left its mark on the city even until now, for St. Louis is still one of the world's most famous spring fur markets. There, for many years, fur traders who sought the West made their start, and there explorers like Lewis and Clark outfitted for their hazardous journeys. It has been said truly that "emigrants or trade or ambition to the remote regions of the West centered in St. Louis." When the steamboat was in its glory, the St. Louis water front was thronged with the vessels bringing to her markets and taking from her waters rich cargoes which gained value from the arduous trip on Mississippi or Missouri. And when the Santa Fé Trail, the California Trail, and the Oregon Trail were the sole arteries of travel to the almost unknown regions beyond the Missouri, St. Louis reaped large benefits from them.

St. Louis was the terminus of the old National Road, the ambitious project fathered by Henry Clay for con-

necting the States of the East with the growing territories of the West, though little work on the highway was done beyond Indianapolis, the central city of Indiana, which was laid out in 1821 in the forest by his men, chosen by the Legislature. They were assisted by one of the men whose experience in laying out Washington accounts for the advantageous plan of the city, with wide streets radiating from the central plaza.

That plaza is beautiful to-day, but with a vastly different beauty from that of its beginnings. Henry Ward Beecher, who as a young man was pastor in Indianapolis in 1843, told how the central square was glorious with native trees. "Under these trees, before a church was built, religious meetings were held in summer," wrote the man who was to become famous, "and the prospect was that our town would have an adornment in the little grove which no architecture can bestow." But, alas! one morning a lawyer, wanting exercise, cut down a tree. His example was followed, and soon the entire grove was prostrate.

The problem of early Chicago was, not to dispose of trees, but to make lots out of sand hills, to build houses on land subject to overflow, and to make the river which gave its name to the city flow powerfully into the lake. How the pioneers would have doubted if they had been told that the day was coming when herculean efforts would be made to make the same river flow in the opposite direction!

Although Chicago has dated her beginning from about 1829, when its site was platted, the first home on the site was begun in 1796, and finished in 1804 by John Kinzie. In 1820 Schoolcraft found there "a small village of ten or twelve houses, 60 people in all." Three years

later a visitor, Major Long, was rather dubious as to the future, though he said, grudingly: "It is not impossible that at some distant period when the banks of the Illinois shall have been covered with a dense population, and when the prairie which extends between that river and Fort Wayne shall have acquired a population proportionate to the produce they can yield, Chicago may become one of the points in the direct line of communication between the northern lakes and the Mississippi." Yet he felt that even then the intercourse would be limited, since "the dangers attending the navigation of the lakes and the scarcity of harbors along the shores must ever form a serious obstacle to the commercial importance of Chicago."

In 1825, when Chicago was a part of the county of Peoria, the personal property taxed there amounted to $9,047, and of this $5,000 was credited to the American Fur Company. Later, *Beck's Gazetteer* spoke of the place as "a village in Pike County."

In 1832, when Philo B. Carpenter found Chicago, he said of it:

"The streets of the embryo town had been staked out, but no grading had been done, not even a dirt road thrown up. A wagon track took a circular way from one house to another, accommodating itself to the oozy sloughs which seamed the landscape."

During the following year Eli B. Williams reached Chicago from Connecticut, after traveling from Ypsilanti, Michigan, in his own carriage. Although there were but two hundred white people in the place, he felt encouraged to open a store on South Water Street, the modern street of the fruit and produce commission men. His store building was constructed of green timber squared from logs brought from forests far up on the North Shore.

In a year's time he became such a prominent citizen that he was made president of the Council Board of Trade. One of his problems was to improve Clark Street, which was impassable during rainy weather. A ditch dug on either side of the street gave some relief, but more was needed. Yet there was no money in sight. A loan of $60 was secured on Mr. Williams's personal guaranty of payment.

This important improvement on land had its counterpart on the water. A sand bar across the mouth of the river made passage to and from the lake impossible. So the national treasury was called on to pay for building stone-filled curbs which were sunk across the main channel of the river, in such a manner that the water from the river had to cut across the sand bar into the lake. A tiny channel had been dug across the bar, when the accommodating Desplaines River overflowed its banks and sent a flood through the Chicago River to the lake. In a few hours the flood scoured out a deep channel in the bar, and the way for a ship to enter the river was apparent.

A vessel was ready to take advantage of the passage. The Chicago *Democrat* of July 16, 1834, told of its bold program:

"Our citizens were not a little delighted on Saturday morning last by a sight as novel as it was beautiful. About nine o'clock the attention was arrested by the appearance of a splendid schooner, *Illinois,* as she came gliding up the river into the heart of the town, under full sail. The *Illinois* is a new vessel of nearly a hundred tons. . . . The drawbridge was soon raised, and she passed to the upper end of the town."

By this time prophets began to take courage. Chicago was to be a great city. Some day it might have fifty

thousand people! Those who placed the figure at one hundred thousand were laughed at. But the day came when it was said that by 1872 the population would be half a million, that there would be a million in 1880, and that by 1900 the city would have twice as many people as New York. If that prophet had been alive in 1900, he would probably have said that he did not dream New York's growth would be so prodigious.

When Chicago was just beginning, another city on the lakes, more than a century old, had made a fine start for the million population given her by the census of 1920—Detroit, the city of the Straits. Cadillac chose its site in 1700, and later became practically the feudal lord of all who cultivated the land tributary to it. In 1707 perhaps 270 people owed allegiance to him, and by 1710 the river was cultivated for a distance of six miles, with the fort as the center of the farming land. Not only did the farmer pay tribute to the overlord, but the fur trade of the place brought him riches. In 1737 this trade was valued at 150,000,000 livres a year. And no one could deal with the Indians except on payment of a license fee of 500 livres. And in 1750 Governor la Galissonnière, in his *Memoirs of the French Colonies,* said: "Throughout the whole interior of Canada it is the best adapted locality for a town where all the trade of the lakes would concentrate."

But the changes wrought by war and treaty made Detroit a city, not of Canada, but of the United States. And its real growth began.

The City of the Straits was already old when another lake port, Sandusky, began to attract attention. A visiting clergyman from England, who passed there in 1834, told of his experiences thus:

"It is truly a city in a forest; for the large stumps of the original pines are still standing in the main street, and over the spots that have been cleared for settlement, the new wood is springing up with amazing vigor, as if to defy the hand of man. I went to the best inn of the town. It would have been better if it had been clean. It was, however, welcome to me as a heavy thunder storm was just beginning to put forth its tremendous power. I congratulated myself on my safety, but my confidence was quickly moderated, for the rain soon found its way within the house and came splashing down the walls of the room in fine style. There are two places of worship here. . . . They stand on the green sward; they are about thirty feet square, and for want of paint have a worn and dirty appearance."

The traveler survived his drenching, and soon he was on his way across Ohio. He stopped at Columbus, which he said "contained about 4,000 persons, and is in a very advancing condition."

After much travail he made his way to Cincinnati, where the first settlers went in 1788, building their cabins amid the sycamores and maples of the lower tableland by the river side, where they could look up to the beech trees and oak trees of the heights. The first rough streets were marked out through the forest, great trees being left standing to mark their intersections.

In 1789 Fort Washington was built close by. The first settlers of Cincinnati breathed more freely as they saw the sturdy structure of hewn timbers take form. It was completed in time to welcome the fifty recruits who came to the town in 1792, and the troops for the army of General Wayne, with which he was to go against the Indians. The general made his encampment on a flat which, with

dry humor he called "Hobson's Choice"—it was the only place for such an encampment!

Before long the infant city boasted a church, with clapboard sides, but with planking and ceiling, as her promise for the future. There was also a log schoolhouse. A courthouse was to be built some day, but for the time being court was held in a room in the tavern. Criminals were sentenced to the pillory, the stock, and the whipping post, as well as to the log jail.

On November 9, 1793, appeared the initial number of the *Centinel of the Northwest,* the first newspaper to be issued north of the Ohio River. In a little less than two months the half-sheet journal was able to announce the coming, from Pittsburgh, of the first of two keel boats, which were scheduled to make trips every four weeks. These boats were protected by a sturdy covering, to deflect the fire from the guns of hostile Indians. A part of the equipment of each boat was a lot of muskets and ammunition for distribution among the passengers and crew in time of danger. These pioneers of navigation and their successors were rulers of the river until the notable day in 1801 when a vessel of 100 tons, built at Marietta, passed Cincinnati on its way to the Gulf of Mexico. It is safe to say that the majority of the 750 people who then called Cincinnati home were out to wave their greetings to the vessel.

"It is a noble looking town," wrote John Wood in 1819, when he stopped at Cincinnati long enough to land goods from the ark in which he was trading. In fact, he declared it by far the best town he had seen in all the western country. The number of inhabitants, he said, was 12,000. He noted, too, that the inhabitants were "very gay in their

appearance, particularly the ladies, who are equally so with those of London."

Another English visitor, in 1834, said that Cincinnati "is really worthy to be called a city, and it is a city 'born in a day.' It has a population of 30,000 persons. Its streets are composed of handsome homes, the straight lines are broken by the undulating surface of the ground; the surrounding hills stand up beautifully at the head of the streets."

Long before the date of this visit, about 100 steamboats called at Cincinnati each month. In 1832, 2,231 boats tied up there, while in 1847 the number was 4,007. In the days of the first transportation six months were required for the passage to New Orleans, but this time was reduced to twenty-four days. And Cincinnati's importance grew in proportion to the reduction in time of passage and the increase in number of the steamboats.

Besides Louisville, Cincinnati had two important neighbors. One of these, across the State, became tributary to it when the Ohio's intricate series of canals was opened. This was Cleveland, the Forest City, which had ruled Lake Erie since the day in 1788 when General Moses Cleaveland led Connecticut pilgrims to the north of the Cuyahoga River and began the settlement which has borne his name ever since. Its growth was slow, but it was satisfactory to the founder, who ventured the assertion that the children of the first settlers might live to see a place as large as "Old Windham," in Connecticut. The growth did prove to be slow, just at first—in 1820 there were but 600 people there—but how the city has since made up for the patience of those early years!

The second neighbor of Cincinnati, to which she looked for much of her life-giving commerce, was Pittsburgh, the

city at the "Forks of the Ohio," or rather the union of the Monongahela and Allegheny, where the French had a fort, where George Washington won his first spurs, where real beginnings for a city had been made during the close of the eighteenth century. By 1810 it had become such a thriving place that John James Audubon was able to note:

"On arriving at the town, which stands on a low flat, and looks like a collection of Blacksmiths' shops, Glass houses, Breweries, Forges, and Taverns, the Monogahela opened to the view on the left running along the bottom of a range of hills so high that the sun at this season sets to the town of Pittsburgh at a little past four. . . . The Monongahela is lined with arks, usually called Kentucky Boats, waiting for the rising of the river and the absence of ice, to descend. A perspective view of the town, with the numerous arks and covered keel boats preparing to descend the Ohio, the grandeur of the hills, and the interesting circumstances of the three great rivers, the pillars of smoke rising from its Furnaces, Glass Works, &c. would make a noble picture. The industry of the town is remarkable; every body you see is busy; and as a proof of the prosperity of the place, an eminent lawyer told me that there has not been one suit instituted against a merchant of the town these three years."

Audubon was followed, in 1819, by John Wood, who wrote of Pittsburgh:

"It is a large place, with upwards of 7,000 inhabitants . . . a large bridge is nearly finished on the Monongahela, and another partly built on the Allegany; both these bridges have stone piers above high water-mark, but the remainder of them is of wood. The bridge that was nearly finished, was divided into four passages; two for

carriages and horses; the other two for foot passengers. These passages are covered over, with holes in the sides to admit light and air. . . . They are longer and higher than London bridge. . . . There are many handsome brick buildings, but there are also a great number of log and frame houses. Several steamers were building. . . . Owing to the quantity of iron work, it has a black and dismal appearance, and from the account I had heard of it, I was, on the whole, rather disappointed in Pittsburgh. . . . It will always be a place of considerable consequence from its situation. Steamboats in high water run from New Orleans to Pittsburgh in 70 or 80 days, but from the latter to the former place in much less time."

Now for one more visitor. This time let us bring an American—no less a man than Robert John Walker, successively a United States Senator and Secretary of the Navy. On December 25, 1821, he wrote from Pittsburgh:

"The Prospects of Pittsburgh are rapidly brightening. If the project of intersecting the National road by a turnpike from this place to Uniontown, of making the great road from this place to Philadelphia, of removing every remaining obstruction in the navigation from this to Wheeling, of connecting the head waters of the Ohio with the Potomac, exclusive of a small portage, should all prove successful, it will call Pittsburgh on its legs again."

Pittsburgh's neighbor to the north, Buffalo, also prospered on steamboat traffic. In her case, however, the traffic that helped her was that of those who sought the West by way of the Great Lakes. During the early years of the nineteenth century she was well started on the way to importance when danger from an unexpected source threatened her existence. The tale is unfolded in a letter,

dated October 20, 1809, from Judge Granger, Collector of the Port of Buffalo, to Hon. Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. In this he spoke of a project of Congress to remove the Customs Districts of Niagara and Buffalo Creek from Fort Niagara to Lewiston, and from Buffalo to Black Rock. The letter follows:

"The Village of Buffalo, where the Custom house is now kept, is situate near the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and at the outlet of Lake Erie. It is a good harbor for boats. Vessels often lie off the mouth of the Creek and receive loading. The place is fast increasing in population and business; it already contains fifty-three families, beside a number of young gentlemen who are settled here in professional and mercantile pursuits.

"It is the seat of justice for the county of Niagara, and has a handsome courthouse and Jail nearly completed. Most of the importations heretofore from Canada has been made by the citizens of the place. Its situation for obtaining information of what is passing in the district is superior to any other place."

Surely the plea of such a picture of Buffalo could not be resisted! So the town became a city where the families and single men cannot be counted so easily, where federal receipts are so great that it was well Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin could not foresee them.

Buffalo had weathered the stormy times of the War of 1812, and was well on another lap in the race to prosperity, when what was to be the chief city between her and Albany was born in Rochester, the metropolis of a vast part of western New York. In 1820 the village laid out in the forest by Nathaniel Rochester, James Fitzhugh, and Charles Carroll—two Virginians and a Marylander!

—was promising only to its projectors. But in 1829, when a man from Philadelphia saw it, it was promising, in spite of drawbacks. Hear him:

"After breakfast I spent several hours in rambling through and about this town of rapid growth. There is no great beauty about it, and at this time I consider it a dirty place. All the streets are filled with mud and rubbish. Building is the order of the day, but there are few houses in the place which can be called handsome, and even the best are nothing to what I have seen in the other towns. Yet, when its natural advantages are considered, I know no place which can compare with it. . . . Several manufacturies and mills for different purposes are now building; and I have no hesitation in saying, that, although Rochester can never be a handsome town, owing principally to its low situation, yet I believe it will see the time, perhaps very soon, when no place in the Union can exceed it in point of variety and manufactures. . . ."

What a debt America owes to the men of vision who saw the cities of the future in mudholes, and refused to be dismayed by difficulties that would have been the death of fellows of less sturdy mold!

CHAPTER IX

TWO CENTURIES OF THE POST OFFICE

FOR two generations after the making of the first settlements in New England the scattered Colonists were content with rare communication from one to another by the hand of infrequent travelers or, more often, Indians, who were the nomads of the day.

Once, when Roger Williams had a message to send to Governor Winthrop it went by the hand of Wequash. In 1638 John Endicott, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, acknowledged the receipt of "kind lines" by the hand of Mascanomet. And fourteen years later Samuel Symonds sent Governor Winthrop from Ipswich an apology for failing to write earlier:

"I can only plead for my excuse (so farr as it will goe) the uncertainty when and how to convey letters."

Indians must have seemed to Governor Winthrop the most natural bearers for letters. For did they not at one time bear him also? A quaint record tells of a time when an Indian guide carried him "pick-a-back" over one of the primitive trails of the savage which were for many years the sole means of land communication. These trails had been hardened and deepened through countless generations by the soft pad-pad of the Indians' moccasins, and when, long afterward, the first wheeled vehicles were used, it was necessary to widen their original eighteen inches or two feet, or to abandon them altogether in favor of a site that lent itself to broader treatment.

PITTSBURGH IN 1790
(From a Steel Engraving by J. C. McRae) (See page 172)

AN OLD TAVERN WHERE POST RIDERS STOPPED
(Erected 1784 at Salem, now Winston-Salem, North Carolina)

Of such a primitive trail J. G. Holland once wrote:

"No stream was bridged, no hill graded, no marsh drained. It was the channel through which laws were communicated, through which flowed news from distant friends, loving letters and messages."

Since the hearts of the Colonists were ever turning with longing to the homes they had left across the sea, and since the ocean provided an easier means of communication than the land, it was natural that some of the first steps looking to a regular mail service should be taken with transatlantic letters in view. The records of the Massachusetts General Court for 1639 tell how, "for preventing the miscarriage of letters," it was "ordered that notice bee given, that Richard Fairbanks, his house in Boston, is the place appointed for all letters, which are brought from beyond the Seas, or are to be sent thither; . . . [letters] are to be brought unto him and he is to take care, that they bee delivered, or sent according to their direction, and he is allowed for every letter 1d, and must answer all miscarriages through his own neglect."

Probably the first effort to establish a regular post route by land was made in 1672, when Governor Francis Lovelace of New York wrote grandiloquently to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut:

"I herewith present you with two rarities, a pacquett of the latest intelligence . . . and a post. . . . By the latter you will meet with a monthly fresh supply, so that if it receives but the same ardent inclination as first it hath from myself, by our monthly advisers all publique occurrences may be tranmitted between us, together with several other great conveniencys of publique importance, consonant to the commands laid upon us by his sacred

Majestie, who strictly enjoins all his American subjects to enter into a close correspondence with each other."

In the same letter it was explained that the postman appointed, who was "active, stout, and indefatigable," would receive an "annual sallery, which together with the advantages of his letters and other small portable packes, may afford him a handsome livelihood." He was to carry "divers bagges, according to the towns the letters are designed to, which are all sealed up 'till their arrival. . . . Only big letters are in an open bag, to disperse by the waye."

This optimistic promoter of the first long-distance mail service in the Colonies suggested that it would be well if Governor Winthrop should "discourse with some of the most able woodmen, to mark out the best and most facile way for a post, which in process of tyme would be the king's best highway, as likewise passage and accommodation at rivers, fords, and other necessary places."

January 23, 1672 (1673), was the date for the beginning of the initial journey from New York. The postman was told to "behave civilly," as he could well afford to do in consideration of the princely allowance of threepence a mile and expenses for himself and his horse.

Evidently Lovelace was too ambitious. The plans so confidently made came to nothing, though they probably had something to do with the success of the twenty-four post routes, long and short, which the year 1674 saw in Massachusetts.

Pennsylvania followed Massachusetts' good example; in 1683 the Colony established a primitive postal system. This antedated by a year the next attempt to initiate a regular mail service between New York and Boston. On January 1, 1684, a mounted post began to ride monthly

between New York and Boston and between Boston and New York. The road—approximately 250 miles long—passed through Providence, Stonington, and New London. Thus the route did not leave the primitive Pequot path until Providence was left behind.

This action in setting up the successful New York-Boston post route anticipated by four years the decision of the government of Great Britain to have such posts; the Order in Council "authorizing the establishment of these conveniences in His Majesty's Plantations in America" was dated July 22, 1688. And nearly four years more passed before Thomas Neale was told he could "erect, settle, and establish within the chief parts of their Majesties' Colonies and plantations in America, an office or offices for the receiving and dispatching letters and pacquets." The term of the privilege granted was to be twenty-one years.

Neale proposed to allow others to make his profits for him; he remained in England, while Andrew Hamilton, later the governor of East Jersey, organized the work on the ground. His deputy reported that in 1698 there was a weekly post from Boston, through New York, to New Castle, Pennsylvania, a distance of 700 miles. In New York there was a general letter office in charge of a postmaster who was to have the "receiving, taking up, ordering, despatching, sending post or with speed and delivery of all letters and pacquets whatsoever, which shall from time to time be sent to and from all and every of the adjacent Colonies and plantations on the mainland and continent of America or any of their Majesties' Kingdom and domain beyond the Seas."

The first report of Neale showed that the postage charge on a letter between Boston and New York was

one shilling; that "Mr. Sharpus, the keeper of the letter office at New York" received a salary of £20 per year; that the carrying of the mail halfway to Boston from New York cost £100 per year; that £60 per year was the charge for the transport between New York and Philadelphia; that Hamilton received £200 salary as Neale's representative; and that £10 was "allowed to him that keeps the letter office at Philadelphia."

During four years the receipts of the New York post increased from £61 to £122, while the Boston, Road Island, and Piscataway Post paid as high as £298. The receipts in Philadelphia grew from £10 the first year to £105 during the succeeding three years.

But expenses were so heavy that Neale's experiment proved a losing venture. The deputy postmaster for Virginia and Maryland was paid £100 per year, but the letters were so few that the English farmer of the post office was out of pocket £600 from these Colonies. During four years his total receipts from all the Colonies were £1,437, while his expenses were £3,817.

The American deputy advised that the rate of postage should, therefore, be raised. Letters from Maryland to New York had cost ninepence, while the rate to and from any place not more than eighty miles from New York had been half that amount. His second recommendation for economy was that "the post and his rider should go ferry free."

Apparently this second recommendation was adopted. For when, in 1766, Benjamin Franklin was questioned by a committee of the English House of Commons as to the workings of the Stamp Act, he was asked, "Are not ferry men in America obliged, by act of Parliament, to carry over the mails without pay?" As Franklin replied in the

affirmative, he was asked, "Is this not a tax?" And he replied, "They do not consider it so, for they have an advantage from persons traveling with the post." Yet it is interesting to note that, five years earlier, when writing a letter to the Postmaster-General in England, defending a change made in a New Jersey post road, he had said, "Ferrymen generally are very dilatory and backward to carry the post in bad weather, availing themselves of every excuse, as they were by law to receive no ferriage of him."

That difficulties with ferrymen continued to be a source of annoyance was revealed by the postal regulations of 1800, which provided:

"If any ferryman shall by wilful negligence refuse to transport the mail across any ferry, delaying the same, he shall forfeit and pay for each half hour that the same shall be so delayed, a sum not exceeding ten dollars."

A third recommendation made by Hamilton for the improvement of the service was that "Between England and America a rate should be settled, and that shipmasters should be required, on the other as on this side of the Atlantic, to take the letters at once to the Post Office of the port at which they first touched, and hand them to the postmaster, securing as remuneration a penny a letter." Thus a recommendation was made for penny ocean postage. And that was the accepted rate more than two centuries ago, when the price for a letter on land, for a distance of a mere eighty miles, was more than four times as much! Even in 1693 the ocean rate was but twopence. And in 1800 provision was made for a payment to ship captains of two cents—or the one penny of old days.

The canny Hamilton realized that cheap ocean postage

would help the income of the post office for land transportation, since every letter put in the office by the shipmaster would be subject to local rates of postage to its destination—rates which he advised should be advanced to sixpence for a distance of eighty miles from New York, a shilling between Boston and New York, and 3s 6d Boston to James Town!

Thus the more lucrative land post would be fed, at their expense, by the ship captains, bound for America, among whom it was the custom "to hang up bags in coffee houses, and any letter that might be dropped in these bags they carried, and were glad to carry over" for the penny fee, or for twopence when it was a double letter—that is, when it contained more than a single sheet of paper.

The Colonists enjoyed other advantages than absurdly cheap ocean postage. They were provided with a parcel post. A letter from a man in Boston to the Governor of Connecticut referred to such a post, "I have had yours by post with a little bundle." Another letter read, "If Sudance can bundle up John's Jacket and Mingo's cloth jacket in an old towell, pray let the post bring them."

In spite of parcel post and other mails the postmasters had ample time not only for their work, but for extras. Charles Dudley Warner has said of John Campbell, who was postmaster at Boston at the beginning of the eighteenth century: "If he opened his office on Monday of each week from seven to twelve for the distribution of letters the riders brought in, and again from two to seven for the reception of letters the riders were to take out, collected postage once a quarter, made a list of letters not called for, and bargained with ship captains for distributing letters they ought to have lodged with him, he did all he was required to do." Thus he could talk over the news of the

THE POST OFFICE AT 29 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK CITY, IN EARLY DAYS
(From an Old Print)

CHICAGO'S FIRST POST OFFICE
(From an Old Print in the Collection of the Chicago Historical Society) (See page 199)

day, and he became so well informed that, in 1704, he decided to issue the *News Letter,* which was the first newspaper in the Colonies.

Seven years later the Colonial postal system received its first hearty sanction through a proclamation of the Queen. This directed "that one Master of the General Letter Office and Post-office shall be appointed by Us, with Our Great Seal of Great Britain, by the Name and Stile of our Postmaster-General." Moreover, it was ordered that nowhere in the "Kingdom, Plantations or Colonies" should anyone but the Postmaster-General and his Deputies, presume to handle the mails, except on the way to the nearest post office.

In a number of centers deputy postmasters were appointed in accordance with the regulations. One of these centers was Philadelphia, where Andrew Bradford was in office from 1728 to 1737. Like the postmaster at Boston, he took advantage of his office to issue a newspaper, the *American Weekly Mercury.* This he proceeded to distribute to subscribers by the post riders tributary to his office, at the same time discouraging competition by refusing to allow them to carry the paper of any rival publisher. Thus Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* had to make use of privately appointed distributors, and the postmaster also could take advantage of changes like that announced March 8, 1720. Up to that time the paper had been issued on Tuesday, but, owing to the change of the day of the post to New York and Boston, the paper would appear on Thursday, "on which Day the Post rode out from Philadelphia." And when there was delay in the arrival of the post there was trouble. On March 20, 1729, it was announced that publication was delayed until Friday because of the non-receipt of the

New York post. Even then there was disappointment, as was shown by this word:

"N. B. The New York nor Maryland Posts are not come in at 11 o'clock Friday morning."

Other disappointments were noted. An item printed on January 17, 1717, showed the editor's dependence on the postmaster: "This being a dead Time for News, no Vessel being arrived here since our last, our Readers must not expect Impossibilities." And on January 6, 1736, a paragraph stated: "The New-York Post was expected in Town on Saturday last, but is not yet come, and we just now hear that the Reason of his tarrying is, because the Boston Post was not arrived at New-York, and is supposed to be hindered by the great fall of Snow which they have had at the Eastward. We shall not now expect him till Saturday."

Sometimes the utterances of the postmaster were influenced, probably, by the desires of the editor, as on November 1, 1722, when he warned the captains of ocean vessels and passengers who dared to bring letters over to Philadelphia without declaring them at once to the post office, and collecting the one penny promised for each, "to the great Prejudice of His Majesty's Revenue," and (it might have been added) of the postmaster's newspaper! The Act of Parliament provided for a five-pound fine for each offense, and assurance was given that the provision would be enforced.

In 1737 Postmaster Bradford was succeeded by Benjamin Franklin, who thus had a wonderful opportunity to take revenge on his rival because of that rival's act in refusing to transport by post a competitor's newspaper. But the new postmaster was more generous; he carried Bradford's paper as well as his own, and was ready to

receive any newspaper, without prejudice. It is interesting to know that Editor Bradford did not take the curious method of retaliation for the loss of his office adopted in 1719 by Editor Campbell of Boston, who refused to allow the post rider under the direction of his successor to carry his *News Letter!*

Franklin's appointment was made by Ex-Governor Spottswood of Virginia, His Majesty's deputy Postmaster-General for the Colonies. The first announcement was worded curiously:

"The Post Office of Philadelphia is now kept at B. Franklin's in Market street; Henry Ball is appointed Riding Postmaster for all the stages between Philadelphia, and Newport, Virginia, who sets out about the beginning of each month, and returns in twenty-five days."

Office-holding at Philadelphia made Franklin ambitious. In 1751, when Elliott Benger, who was the acting Deputy Postmaster-General for the Colonies, was thought to be dying, the northern postmaster desired to follow him, in case of his death. That he succeeded in his efforts is revealed by the announcement made on August 6, 1753, that "Mr. B. Franklin of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, and Mr. William Hunter, of Williamsburg in Virginia," were appointed by the Postmaster-General his deputy postmasters and managers of "all His Majesty's Provinces and Dominions on the Continent of North America."

The history of the appointment is interesting. In his Autobiography Franklin said of it:

"Having been for some time employed by the Postmaster-General of America as his comptroller in regulating several officers, and bringing the officers to account, I was upon his death in 1753, appointed . . . to succeed him."

But it is necessary to put by the side of this statement of the man who once said that he never sought an office, the record of his correspondence with Peter Collinson of London. In a letter, written in 1751, he said, in partial explanation of his feeling that the office should come to him:

"I will not tell you that Philadelphia being the center of the Continental Colonies, and being in constant communication with the West Indies Islands, is by much a better place for the situation of a General Post Office than Virginia . . ."

In this letter two things impress the memory. First—and this was to the writer's credit—he said that he would be glad if the application in his behalf could be so worded that, if Mr. Benger should recover, no offense would be given. The second was an odd reference to what, in this later day, might be called an attempt to use an unhallowed means to secure his end. He spoke of the fact that £200 had been paid by Mr. Benger for the office. "I know not whose perquisite it was," the applicant said. Then he proceeded to authorize the expenditure of £300, adding the suggestion, worthy of Poor Richard: "However, the less its costs the better, as 'tis an office for Life—which is a very uncertain tenure."

The salary of the new officer was raised from £200 to £600, the amount to be paid from the revenues of the post. And he earned this money. He made a tour of inspection of all the offices in the Colonies, with the exception of Charleston. He increased the mail service between New York and Philadelphia from once a week in summer and twice a month in winter to three times a week in summer and once in winter. Later he introduced the innovation of having post riders travel by night

HOPE & Co.

Grand State Lottery Office, 63, Chesnut Street, Philadelphia.

TENDER to the public their grateful thanks for the liberal patronage they have experienced in the former classes of the

PENNSYLVANIA STATE LOTTERY,

And respectfully inform them, the fourth class will commence in four weeks, and is highly popular, as every day gives a high prize of 20,000, 10,000, 5,000, 2,000 1,000 or 700 dollars. But as the term dollars are too familiar to convey an adequate idea of the value of money at present, we will form by *hieroglyphics* what solid wealth you can gain by a Ticket or share.

POPE SAYS,

Between the statues obelisks were placed,
And the learn'd walls with *hieroglyphics* graced.

HOPE SAYS,

BY A WHOLE TICKET YOU MAY

build ride in and become

BY AN HALF YOU MAY

retire into buy and be the of

BY A QUARTER YOU MAY

become of the and after provide for those

BY AN EIGHTH YOU MAY

portion off in provide for or secure a in

BY A SIXTEENTH YOU MAY

set up procure or advance in if in you may be

if in you may do good and

BY A WHOLE TICKET you may build *a mansion*, ride in your *carriage*, and become *President of the United States*.

BY AN HALF you may retire into *the country*, buy *a farm*, and be the *squire of the village*.

BY A QUARTER you may become *independent* of the *world*, and after *death* provide for those *you love*.

BY AN EIGHTH you may portion off *a Daughter* in *marriage*, provide for *a Son*, or secure a *support in old age*.

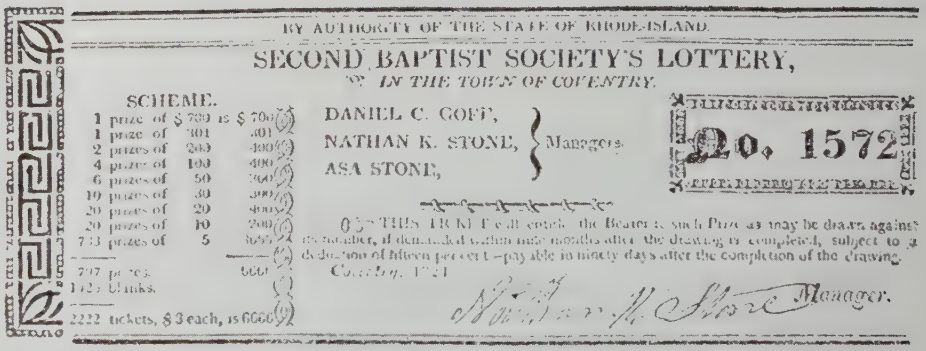
BY A SIXTEENTH you may set up *in business*, procure *a commission in the army*, or advance *in the church*; if in *distress* you may be relieved, if in *affluence* you may do *a thousand* good and *charitable actions*.

☞ Whole Tickets seven dollars. Halves three dollars fifty cents. Quarters one dollar seventy-five cents. Eighths eighty-seven and a half cents. Clubs supplied on liberal terms.

** The price of Tickets will be raised in a few days

May 30, 1817

AN EARLY LOTTERY BROADSIDE



BY AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF RHODE-ISLAND.

SECOND BAPTIST SOCIETY'S LOTTERY,

OF IN THE TOWN OF COVENTRY.

SCHEME.

1 prize of	$ 739	is $ 700
1 prize of	301	301
2 prizes of	250	500
4 prizes of	100	400
6 prizes of	50	300
10 prizes of	30	300
20 prizes of	20	400
20 prizes of	10	200
733 prizes of	5	3665
777 prizes		6666
1445 blanks.		
2222 tickets, $ 3 each, is		6666

DANIEL C. GOFF,
NATHAN K. STONE,
ASA STONE,
} Managers.

No. 1572

☞ THIS TICKET entitles the Bearer to such Prize as may be drawn against its number, if demanded within nine months after the drawing is completed, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent.—payable in ninety days after the completion of the drawing.

Coventry, 1821

Nathan K. Stone Manager.

Printed at the American Office.

I purchased this ticket very much against my views of interest but like him who gambles in any thing else hope to gain by it

Jonah Titus

A LOTTERY TICKET

between Philadelphia and New York, and he was able to write proudly of the mail:

"It passes now between Philadelphia and New York so quick that letters can be sent from one place to another, and an answer received the day following, which before took a week, and when our plan is executed between Boston and New York, letters may be sent and received in two days, which before took a fortnight, and between Boston and Philadelphia in six days, which before required three weeks."

In September, 1755, Franklin co-operated in the successful working of the first packet mail service between Falmouth and New York; four vessels of 200 tons each were put on the route. Each vessel made a round trip in four months, and received £700 for the service.

There has been preserved an interesting document, dated in 1754, which gives Franklin's directions to the deputy postmasters as to the method of keeping their accounts. The broadside was as involved as a modern income tax blank. The method of keeping account of each letter received and sent forward is not so different from that adopted to-day by the railway postal clerks of interior China, who gravely handle a bill of lading for each piece of mail!

In 1756 Franklin wrote an informing letter to George Washington, in which he told how the post between Philadelphia and Winchester, having been established for the accommodation of the army chiefly, by vote of the Pennsylvania Assembly, would have to be discontinued, unless Maryland should join with Pennsylvania in paying for it. "I am sorry it should be laid down," the Postmaster-General added, "as I shall myself be a loser in the affair of newspapers." In closing he made the propo-

sition, "If we can persuade your assembly to pay the rider from Winchester to Carlisle, I will endeavor to persuade ours to continue paying the rider from Carlisle hither."

Of course the improvements for which Franklin was responsible were expensive, and for some time he was unable to receive any income from his office. The terms of his appointment were that he was to receive his salary if he could make that much out of the profits of the office. At one time the office was in his debt £900. Yet the official records of the Post Office in London tell that "the Deputy Post Masters have already obeyed the Post Master General by remitting £494.4.8, in full payment of the balance up to the 10th of August, 1761, and this is the first remittance ever made of the kind." It is not strange that in 1764 his London superiors said, "the Posts in America are under the management of persons of acknowledged ability."

During the administration of Franklin two further innovations were made. He directed that, at least once each quarter, letters remaining uncalled for should be advertised. And in 1765 he received authority to establish the penny post, the institution by which, in Philadelphia, or in other cities, the people might have their letters delivered to their houses, on payment of one penny each to the carrier, who retained the penny. This system was continued by Congress in the infant post office of the United States, and was, in fact, the sole method of delivery in cities until the institution of the free delivery system in 1863.

Franklin's incumbency continued, in spite of his long absence in England, on duty for the Colonies, until 1774. Then a successor entered into the enjoyment of an institution that was bringing to the Crown—to use Franklin's

own words—"three times as much clear revenue as the post office of Ireland."

Throughout his long service the most bitter criticism of his acts was his employment in the establishment members of his family. His first act after his own appointment was to give his son an important office. Throughout the years of his tenancy he continued to look out for his family; "brothers and cousins, and nephews, and brothers-in-law drew income from public offices." Once, when a relative failed in business, the Postmaster-General wrote to him advising that his son make application for a position in what men looked on as a family sinecure.

But Franklin's natural partiality for those of his own family did not impair his efficiency in the opinion of those most capable of judging, as is apparent from his appointment, in July, 1775, to take charge of the post office establishment of the Colonies, which realized that they must look out for themselves in this as in other ways.

At the time of his appointment he was still writing to England concerning the accounts of his former service. His final letter was sent in March, 1776, and did not receive a reply until 1783. Evidently the post-office officials in London did not propose to correspond with a rebel.

The service for the Colonies did not continue long. When Franklin was appointed ambassador to France, his son-in-law, Richard Bache, became Postmaster-General. But he had only to carry out the plans outlined by his illustrious predecessor, who, as chairman of the committee appointed by Congress for the purpose, had reported outlining a plan—Franklin's plan—which, in its main details,

"is that upon which the post office of the United States is conducted at the present time."

The final reference to the post office made by Franklin was in his will. A clause in that document left to charity debts due him, including those for unpaid postage. Strange as it may seem, those who received letters had to pay the postage on them. Frequently, for convenience, the amounts were permitted to accumulate. When they were not paid, the postmaster was responsible. Some wise postmasters asked the patrons of the office to keep a deposit in the office, that letters might be paid for out of it.

The invention of adhesive stamps, which first appeared in 1848, was important because these stamps were designed to correct abuses like that of which Franklin told in his will, yet the use of them was not made compulsory until 1856!

For twenty-five years after Franklin's appointment as Postmaster-General, development was slow, but there were some important events.

Pittsburgh had her first post office in 1786, but not until 1794 was a regular western mail established. From Washington to Pittsburgh the mail was carried on horseback or by stage. From Pittsburgh to Wheeling horses were used.

Every two weeks a mail boat went from Wheeling to Limestone, Kentucky, the river port for the Kentucky settlements of Daniel Boone and his fellow pioneers.

When the boat line was established Timothy Pickering was Postmaster-General. Letters from him show how simple was the operation of the department of which he was head. Think of a Postmaster-General to-day giving attention to such details as are included in these letters!

On April 26, 1794, he wrote from the General Post

Office, in New York City, to Major Isaac Craig, Pittsburgh, suggesting that it would be better to give up the idea of carrying passengers; the expense would be too great, and passengers would be few. So he proposed light boats, to be operated by five men.

With his letter he sent an estimate of the cost of the service for three months; during the months from December to March it would be necessary to carry the mail overland, "through the wilderness." Then the men to man the boats would receive salary. Each river man was to receive twelve dollars per month, and his food was to cost fifteen cents per day. Each boat would cost twenty-five dollars.

The estimate of cost was set down:

Five hands for boats	$3,160
Subsistence for 365 days	1,095
Four boats	100
	$4,355

It was thought that the estimate might be too large, since the boats might last two or three years with repairs, especially if they were "pretty high sided, that they may be more secure from taking in water by the dashing of the waves in windy times."

Later it was decided to have but three boats; since mails would be sent overland from Limestone to Fort Washington (Cincinnati), it seemed that the smaller service would be sufficient. It was suggested that "the space from Wheeling to Limestone be divided into three parts in the most convenient and equal manner that the settlements and states on the river will admit of."

The boxes for the mails, the Postmaster-General sug-

gested, had best be entirely "covered with oil-cloths, so as to be perfectly secure from water." Then he asked, "will it not be prudent to have some contrivance for fastening the boxes to the boats so that if a boat oversets, without sinking, the mail may not be separated and lost?"

On May 24, 1794, the shrewd official wrote:

"As some doubts are entertained of the practicability of carrying the mail by the Ohio, with due regularity and dispatch, it will be proper to have the first arrangements *temporary*. For which reason I request you to engage the boatmen on the condition that they may be discharged, upon one or two months' notice, in case this mode of carrying the mail to Kentucky and the army shall not answer the public expectation concerning it, and then I should be inclined to abandon it."

On June 7, 1794, a letter was sent as follows:

"I now write to General Putnam of Marietta, informing him of the steps you have taken to raise a boat's crew at that place, and advising him to have a second crew raised at Gallipolis, as Captain Mills advises, or at Marietta, and to advise you when they will be ready. How will you send the two boats to their station at Marietta and Gallipolis? I presume that soldiers or others going down the river will conveniently do it.

"I am sorry to learn that the expences of this expensive undertaking will be increased by an advance price to the hands. It will make an addition of between four and five hundred dollars a year.

"I send to your care the letter for General Putnam and four packages, one for a Postmaster at Washington, one for a Postmaster at Wheeling, a third for a Postmaster at Fort Washington, or Cincinnati, and a fourth for a

Postmaster in West Liberty in Virginia, which I request you to forward, as good conveyance will permit."

A letter of June 21 shows that, even in 1794, officials of the government had their annoyances because of office seekers:

"You manifest so much solicitude to obtain the Post office at Wheeling for Major Finley that I consent to make the change and let him take it. But if he expects any material benefit from it he will be disappointed.

"I have sent the form of the oath to be taken and subscribed by all persons to whose charge a public mail is committed."

On June 19, 1795, Major Gray wrote to Colonel Pickering, who was then Secretary of War:

"John Denny reports that on the 27th ultimo, on his way up the Ohio at Graham's Station, he fell in with the Mail Boat No. 3, some of the crew of which informed him that on the 23rd as they were ascending the Ohio between Big and Little Sandy Creeks, they were without any previous notice fired upon from the Kentucky shore by between twenty and thirty Indians, that a Mr. Stout who commanded the boat was killed, and two others mortally wounded."

The difficulties of mail transportation in the Ohio country are further illustrated by a letter dated April 28, 1795, from Pickering to Governor Brooke:

"I have received your letter of the 22d, inclosing the copy of a letter from General Biggs, informing of some hostile acts of the Indians on the borders of the Ohio. The appointment of scouts may therefore be very proper. By the last Western mail I received a letter of the 8th ulto. from General Wayne, by which it appeared that altho' all the hostile nations in that quarter had entered

into a capitulation for treating of peace next June, & ceasing hostilities in the mean time, yet that there was a predatory party of Cherokees (and probably the banditti of some other tribes) collected, or rather making their quarters, on the Waters of Sciota, from whence they annoyed the frontiers, but he had sent to them a message by a Shawnee Chief, threatening their destruction, if they persisted in their hostilities now that the Nation had stipulated a suspension of all hostile acts, & for making a general peace, and that Chief promised to aid the General in extirpating that banditti, if they persisted in their depredations.

"I had not before heard of the killing of a man at the mouth of Little Kanhawa. The man killed on the Sciota ought not to have been there. The western papers have informed me of a party of hunters falling in with some Indians not far from Wheeling—but the hunters were in the *Indian country*—that is on the northwest side of the Ohio, on the hunting grounds which have been the very object of this fatal Indian war. I am suspicious that this is the same party of hunters to which General Biggs refers. If so, I say of them, that they ought not to have been there."

With the passage in 1799 and 1800 of the "Bill to Establish the Post Office of the United States" development became more rapid. That curious pamphlet in which the organization of the department is outlined is delightfully small. It tells of the Postmaster-General's duty to "establish post offices, appoint postmasters, and provide for the carriage of the mails on all post roads, tells of fines for impeding the mails, and enumerates the penalties for the carrying of letters by unauthorized persons.

At that time the postage on letters was still in propor-

tion to the distance they were carried. That provision continued in force until 1863! But long-distance letters were rare; there were but 903 offices in 1800, though the number increased to 5,677 in 1825.

A study of the letter books of those early days is diverting as well as informing. On December 11, 1801, Gideon Granger, the Postmaster-General, wrote asking if a certain man recommended for appointment to an office in New Hampshire was "a good and proper man."

A few months later the same man inclosed a letter to a member of Congress from Virginia, whose friend had recommended a man to be postmaster at Williamsburg: "I pray you to direct it, as I cannot find the paper on which I wrote his name and address." And in 1812 Granger wrote to the Postmaster at Washington, D. C., a letter which showed that the franking privilege was made to apply to the sender of letters and packages to a man who had a frank:

"I am informed that very large packages are sometimes sent by the mail to Thomas Jefferson, Esq., to the embarrassment of the mail and contrary to the spirit of the law which grants him a frank. In case of any future occurrence of this kind, I pray you to stop them at your office, and notify me, that I may take them into my own custody, for which I have Mr. Jefferson's assent."

A letter from Postmaster-General Return J. Meigs, dated in 1815, told the postmaster at Cincinnati that two mail contractors who had failed to comply with instructions from Washington were to be fined heavily; that if then they refused to obey another carrier was to be appointed to carry the mail between Cincinnati and Lexington, Kentucky, at a rate not exceeding twelve hundred dollars per annum.

In 1817 Meigs sent a letter that to-day is diverting, though it is likely that the problem faced was then too serious for a smile:

"I wish to inform our Alexandria driver that it is his duty to announce his arrival by blowing the horn or rapping at the door. He must keep charge of the mail until the gentlemen at your office are ready to receive it."

The story of early days in the post office at Washington gives a splendid idea of conditions as they were at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The office was not established until 1795; then—and until December, 1800—it was known as Washington, Maryland. At that time the postmaster had to see to the sending out of six mails each week, three to the north and three to the south.

One of the first communications with the postmaster at Washington, sent by Charles Burrall, Assistant Postmaster-General, called his attention to the miserable state of the road through the infant city, over which the mail riders had to pass. "I trust the Commissions for building the city will make the necessary repairs," the letter concluded, "as any obstruction to a regular conveyance of the mail upon the main line, will be attended with great injury to the public."

Lund Washington, a relative of the President, was the next postmaster at Washington; he applied for extra pay, because he had to attend the office at unusual hours, in the night, for the dispatch of mails. But a far more vexing problem was the location of the office. In how many towns since then has the same question caused irritation! There was a rivalry between the eastern and western sections of the city. The Commissioners of the city favored the western section, but the Postmaster-General said he wanted a location nearly central between the President's house and

the Capitol. Unwisely, the Postmaster chose a site on Capitol Hill. His loss of the office, in 1799, was not due to this action, but to shortage in his accounts. At that period the Postmaster-General was by law made personally responsible for the official indebtedness of postmasters, unless suit was brought against them within a specified time. For this reason Lund Washington was threatened with a suit at law.

His successor, Thomas Munroe, incurred the enmity of many people because he removed the office to the west end of the city. Appeal to Postmaster-General Habersham was vain. Wisely he wrote that, owing to the scattered population of the city, no spot could be chosen that would not be extremely remote and inconvenient to a few of the inhabitants.

When, in 1800, the government moved to Washington from Philadelphia, Munroe's assistant, Abraham Bradley, wrote that he had rented a house for the Post Office Department, for the local office and for his family. The entire rental was $600 per year, and he expressed the hope that he would not be obliged to pay more than $200 of the amount for his family quarters.

But it proved impossible to care for the two establishments in quarters that cost $400, so the city office had to move, and the Department was left to share the building with the assistant postmaster!

In 1799 Postmaster-General Habersham wrote to Postmaster Munroe, in reply to an appeal for more pay, "I am convinced that your expenditures for some time to come will far exceed your compensation; but it is not in my power to place you on a better footing at present, there being no discretionary power vested in me to increase the commissions of the deputies."

Evidently the postmaster decided that his only course was to cut down the time given to the office, for, on April 21, 1801, Habersham wrote to him about complaints made of his failure to have fixed hours for transacting business, so that frequently mails arrived when no one was present to receive them. He was told to keep open from 8 A. M. to 7 P. M., daily except Sunday. A year later the closing hour was advanced to 9 P. M., that all officers of the government might secure their mails in the evening.

In 1829, when there were 19,000 people in Washington, the revenue of the office was $27,000, while the expenses were much less than half that amount.

But even in those days it was necessary to count on other expenses than salaries, rents, candles, firewood, and quill pens. There were contingencies like robberies of the mail stage. Laws were very outspoken in their warnings to those who might be tempted to lay unauthorized hands on the sacred mail. The Act of 1800 provided that "if any person shall rob any carrier of the mail of the United States . . . such offender or offenders shall, on conviction, be publicly whipped, not exceeding forty lashes, and be imprisoned not exceeding ten years; and if convicted a second time, he or they shall suffer death." An instance of the exaction of the extreme penalty was at Baltimore, on September 10, 1818, in consequence of the act of a man who, with a companion, went two or three miles beyond Havre de Grace, built a rail fence across the road, and, when the mail came up, at the point of the pistol compelled the driver to stop. Passengers were tied to a tree during the two hours required to open and examine the mail. Then the leader of the robbers took a horse and rode away into the woods. His share of the proceeds of the robbery was $72,000, and he felt so well satisfied

with his rich haul that he gave the driver of the stage ten dollars, thus adding insult to injury.

There are stirring records of such robberies in the wilder region of the country west of the Alleghenies, to which an overland mail service was extended early in the nineteenth century. The Ohio service cared for Louisville. Vincennes, Indiana, had a regular mail in 1800, but not until 1810 was there a route to St. Louis, by way of Kaskaskia, while mail by stage was not sent west of Vincennes until 1827.

Indiana historians tell of vexatious delays for the early mails. High water was frequently the cause of disasters; more than one mail carrier was drowned while trying to cross a swollen stream. But even in calm weather there were delays—especially to newspapers, owing to the habit of postmasters in taking from the bags which passed through their hands papers that appealed to them. Frequently these were not read until the next mail passed through, perhaps a week later. It is said that in 1827 the publisher of the Indianapolis *Journal* complained that his postmaster-readers hindered the prompt delivery of half his edition.

The first letters reached Chicago in care of the captain of a lake vessel, or by a traveler who crossed Ohio and Indiana. Then came the day of once-a-month service from Detroit, followed—in 1831—by the opening of the post office and mails every week or even oftener. The post bag would contain a dozen or two letters and as many papers.

But, in spite of the constant increase in post routes, the records of the Post Office Department show that in 1830, 1831, and 1832 one confidential clerk was able to handle all the proposals for carrying the mails, made by would-be contractors the country over. While the western mail

routes were being established, there was agitation of a government subsidy for ocean mail packets, so that Great Britain, which had subsidized five vessels, should not continue to have the service to herself. Responses to the patriotic appeal were slow; in 1858 the United States had eight ocean liners which carried mail, with twenty-one steamers; these crossed the Atlantic, visited the West Indian Islands, and went to Pacific ports.

The Pacific steamers were long time the dependence of the pioneers who went to the Far West. It is related that in 1838, when missionaries to the Indians were living in the Oregon Country, they sometimes heard from friends in the East by the courtesy of some travelers in the annual pack-trains of the fur-traders which could be looked for at about the season of ripening corn. After a while letters reached them with some degree of safety by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Once in a while a message was intrusted to a lone trapper or to an Indian carrier, but there was never any assurance that it would ever reach its destination. One pioneer bride received her first letter from the East two years and a half after she reached her new home. It went to New York, crossed the Atlantic to London, rounded Cape Horn to the Sandwich Islands, then was taken by a sailing vessel to the mouth of the Columbia River. The final stage was in the hands of a volunteer carrier.

But the discovery of gold in California in 1848, and the consequent rush to the West, led to insistent claims for some more certain means of communication.

In 1854 Senator Gwin of California, who had just made the overland journey, proposed to Congress a weekly mail express between St. Louis and San Francisco. The time was to be ten days, and five thousand dollars was to

be paid for each trip. But Congress seemed to think it a wild scheme, and nothing was done. California was forced to content itself with receiving mail by way of Panama. When the steamers were not delayed, a letter would be delivered in twenty-two days. When Utah Territory was created, the news, which started in September, 1850, reached Salt Lake City in January.

On September 15, 1858, the coaches of the Southern Overland Mail left both San Francisco and St. Louis for the journey between the two cities by way of southern California. The distance was 2,759 miles, and the time was made in exactly three weeks. The fare was one hundred dollars, in gold. Letters were carried for ten cents a half-ounce. The equipment consisted of more than one hundred Concord coaches, 1,000 horses, 500 mules, and 750 men, including 150 drivers. Nearly three years later the first stage on the central route, from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Placerville, California, made the two thousand miles in seventeen days.

Contrast this with the record made by the Pony Express, which carried Buchanan's second message from St. Joseph to Sacramento, 2,000 miles, in seven days and nineteen hours. Two hours were cut from this record several years later.

The Pony Express, a system of transportation which employed ponies in relays, was started by private parties in 1860. The first schedule was fourteen days, by rail from New York to St. Joseph, thence by running ponies to Sacramento. It is said that from the beginning the trip was made on schedule time, and that the movements of the ponies could be counted on as certainly as the traveler to-day counts on the express train. When it is remembered that seven days, three hours, and forty-five minutes

was the time required by the first express train to cover the distance between New York and San Francisco, it will be seen how remarkable was the performance of the Pony Express.

"The ponies employed in the service were splendid specimens of speed and endurance," is the record written by Bradley. "They were fed and housed with the greatest care, for their mettle must never fail the test to which it was put. Ten miles' distance at the limit of the animal's pace was exacted from him, and he came darting into the station flecked with foam, nostrils dilated, and every hair reeking with perspiration, while his flanks thumped at every breath.

"Nearly two thousand miles in eight days must be made; there was no idling for man or beast. When the express rode up to the station, both rider and pony were always ready. The only delay was a second or two as the saddle-pouch with its precious burden was thrown on, and the rider leaped into his place; then away they rushed down the trail, and in a moment were out of sight.

"The case of precious letters made a bundle no larger than an ordinary writing tablet, but there was five dollars paid in advance for every letter transported across the continent. There were hundreds of them sometimes, for they were written on the thinnest paper to be procured."

Each section of the road was from 100 to 140 miles long. Twenty pounds was the limit in weight of mail carried. In all, 650,000 miles were ridden by the riders of the original company, and only one small, unimportant mail was lost.

When the telegraph was completed across the plains, rates on letters fell to one dollar. In addition, it was necessary to pay the United States ten cents on each let-

ter that was carried by private hands. There was for many years a survival of this double payment. Wells, Fargo & Co. long carried letters for particular business men who insisted that they got better service from the company, but the regular United States postage had to be paid in addition to the company's charge, the reason being that the mail-carrying privilege is retained by the government.

The Pony Express never paid expenses. For the period of sixteen months that it was in operation, it is stated that the expenses were approximately as follows:

Equipping the line	$100,000
Maintenance, $30,000 per month	480,000
Nevada Indian War	75,000
Miscellaneous	45,000
	$700,000

The receipts were less than $500,000. The results were out of all proportion to the cost. It opened the way, first for the transcontinental telegraph, then for the railway, and so for the marvelous development of the whole Western country.

That achievement seemed even more wonderful to the people of that day than did the institution of the twenty-four-hour mail service by airplane, from New York to San Francisco, in the fall of 1923.

Following the success of the Pony Express a few years came one of the greatest developments in the mail service, made necessary and possible by the extension of railroads to the West, and the consequent long-distance runs.

Toward the close of the Civil War the enthusiastic assistant postmaster at Chicago, George B. Armstrong,

was thinking of a scheme to take care of the mail service to the growing West. "We do not yet know what to do with our post office," he said. "We have but a village here, compared to the city we shall have. The vast Western country is still almost empty of settlers, and even so, the mails that are hourly dumped into the post office fill up the entire place and paralyze the men. Unless something is done towards relief the postal system will break down from its own weight."

The remedy he proposed was a "post office on wheels." Instead of the primitive railway mail service there should be an organization of skilled mail clerks who, traveling in specially equipped cars, could handle the mails so as to facilitate the distribution. He wanted something better than the plan of sending all mail for the country west of the Missouri River to the large distributing offices, such as Salt Lake City, San Francisco, and Denver. Instead of putting mail in pouches and sending it to these distributing offices, why not send it directly to its destination?

Finally the Post Office Department gave him permission to try out his plan on some mail going out of Chicago. The Chicago & Northwestern Railroad consented to build a car according to his plan, and in 1867 this was put in operation—the real beginning of the modern Railway Mail Service.

Soon Armstrong heard that a young man named Theodore N. Vail had been dreaming dreams similar to his own. He was a route agent on one of the primitive mail routes of the Union Pacific Railroad. His run was from Omaha to Salt Lake City; the rails had just been laid to that point. His experiences on the new road were trying, for as his biographer says:

"Much of the track had been laid on roadbed thrown

up during the winter when the earth was frozen. The spring thaw came, and the ground opened up like mush. Trains passing over it billowed up and down and from side to side like a boat on waves. They did not always stick to the track. Once a train rolled over, and slid thirty feet down the mountain-side. At another time, when there had been a heavy rain and many washouts, Vail, who was off watch and asleep, woke to find himself sailing in the air until he suddenly landed in the water. The car was a complete wreck."

The eleven-hundred-mile trip was anything but monotonous. Indians were troublesome. Once with a companion he was surrounded by them, but the two managed to escape. Again and again bands of savages tried to wreck the train. "Great droves of buffaloes abounded; sometimes the train had to stop to let them pass—a brown, billowing tide. The buffaloes rubbed the telegraph poles until they rubbed them down. The government had to put in spikes to prevent this damage."

The experience in the mail-cars gave to young Vail his first real inspiration for his life work. He realized that the railway mail service might be made much more efficient. The transportation of mails was much slower and less certain than the movement of passengers. Little was done in the way of sorting the mails on the trains for connecting points. There had been some effort, between the Mississippi River and the Missouri River, to get mails ready for the stage-drivers who preceded the Union Pacific; and here and there in the East a few experiments had been made. There were not many special mail-cars, but Congress had not seen the vision of a speedy mail service, and refused to make appropriations for improvement. The

conditions existing almost everywhere were described by Albert Bigelow Paine in his biography of Mr. Vail:

"Most sacks were put on at a terminal point, marked for the stations along the line. At these stations other sacks were put on. The latter were opened, and from their contents mail for local points was selected. The remainder was put back into the bags, which were dropped off at the first so-called "distributing station," where the contents were examined and started forth again on their travels, sometimes in the right direction, sometimes not. Letters were often weeks, even months, on the road, and arrived at their destination stained and travel-worn. The postal employee was not required to have any geographical knowledge beyond his own particular line."

Vail had a vision of more efficient service. He began to sort his mail and tie it into bundles, properly marked. As a result of his efforts letters were speeded up several days, or even a week. He bought maps, and studied them until he knew the country thoroughly, and could name the towns on a given route. Then he made a chart, giving this information, which he tacked up in the car. Associates remarked it, and they too began to take pride in their work and in improving it.

Then came the day in 1867 when Armstrong was appointed general superintendent of the Railway Mail Service. Vail was put on a run from Chicago into Iowa, and began the course of service which at length led him to Washington and finally to the position of superintendent of the Railway Mail Service. There his work was marked by improvements that surprised the country. Instead of slow service between New York and Chicago he succeeded in persuading the New York Central to run the first mail-trains of specially built cars, from New York to Chicago.

This train in 1875 made the first trip in twenty-eight hours, faster time than had even been made between the cities. In spite of trouble with the railroads and with Congress he succeeded in having other fast mail routes established, so that to-day he and Armstrong are looked on as the fathers of the present wonderful service.

CHAPTER X

THE STORY OF LOTTERIES IN AMERICA

THE lottery was not, in its inception, an American institution. The Colonists who came from England were familiar with its workings, its temptations, and its evils. For the first lottery in the mother country was drawn in 1569, and from that time many resorted to it.

But the real ancestor of the lottery in America was the attempt made by the Virginia Company in 1612 to secure by this insidious means the colonization of Virginia.

It was natural, then, that the institution should be transferred across the Atlantic. It commended itself especially to the Colonists because they detested the idea of taxation. Still, public works were a necessity. What more simple way to finance them than by a scheme which appealed to the spirit of adventure that prompted so many to come to the New World?

During the early history of the Colonies the lottery was used sparingly, though in many parts of the country it had a much easier time than in Quaker Pennsylvania. So long as the Quakers were in the majority, it was possible to answer with a decided negative all propositions for what was looked on by the peculiar people as a pernicious and so an impossible means of raising money. But as the years passed the Quaker element in the population found itself confronted by immigrants of a different sort, and finally the day came when these different men were able

to compel the Quakers to submit to their demands in many things.

In 1682, at Upland (Chester), William Penn's first capital, the first Assembly decreed: "If any person be Convicted of playing Cards, Dice, Lotteries, or such like enticing, vain and evil Sports and Games, such persons shall, for every such offense, pay five Shillings, or Suffer five Days Imprisonment (at hard labour) in the house of Correction."

Though this act was annulled by William and Mary, as being altogether too intolerant, the Assembly of 1705 made another attempt. An Act directed against "Riotous Sports, Plays, and Games," made illegal "Dice, Lotteries, Tables, Rowly-powly, Loggats, Shovegroats, Shovelboard, Billiards, Kayles, Ninepins, Nineholes, Quoits, Bowles, Half-bowles, or any other kind of game whatsoever, now invented or hereafter to be invented." Perhaps it was that final touch of the Quakers that led to the royal execution of this Act also.

Less than forty years after the founding of Philadelphia the lottery won its first victory in Pennsylvania. On August 16, 1720, the *American Weekly Mercury* advertised: "There is to be disposed of by way of Lottery, a Large, new Brick house, on the East side of the Third Street in Philadelphia." The house had "two good Rooms on a floor, and two good Cellars and Garretts." The ground on which the house was built was subject to "the yearly Rent of Two Pounds Ten Shillings, payable to the Ground Landlord yearly forever."

The house was valued at £250, and another lot, which was to be in the drawing, was worth £90. There were to be 340 tickets, and the price for each ticket was to be twenty shillings. "For the true performance of the con-

ditions of which said Lottery," the announcement concluded, the two men named as promoters "now stand bound unto the Mayor of Philadelphia in the Penal Sum of £500 to see that the said Lottery be drawn fairly and Loyally, and that Every Winer shall have a good and lawful Title."

However, eight years later, when Samuel Keimer, who was, at one time, partner of Benjamin Franklin, let it be known that he would conduct a lottery at the time of the annual city fair, he received notice to appear before the City Council, and when he did so he was told that he would not be allowed to carry out his purpose.

Two years after Keimer's disappointment, a third attempt was made to prohibit all lotteries. The penalty provided was £100. Half of this penalty was to be the perquisite of the Governor, while the other half was to be paid to the person giving information and making possible the conviction.

The law remained on the statute books for many years, but it was, almost from the first, a dead letter—that is, when the governor was willing that it should become so. And he was willing, frequently, in the case of those who had due influence. All he had to do, in case of conviction, was to turn over to the offender his half of the fine. Then, if the suit was brought by one of those interested in the lottery, the entire fine went to the proprietor. Thus they were free to go ahead, without further difficulty.

A curious letter, written by the governor of Connecticut to the governor of Pennsylvania, dated May 2, 1756, affords a smile-provoking illustration of this method of playing fast and loose with the law. It read:

"In passing through Stamford (on the way to New York), Mr. Lloyd, a very worthy man, pressing me much

to ask a favour of you, which I take the Liberty to do. The People of the Church of England in that Town, have with as great Expence to themselves as they can bear, begun to build a Church, and can find no other Scheme of carrying it, than by Lottery. Mr. Lloyd informs me that Lotteries are absolutely forbid in the Government of Connecticut; but that one may be had in Pennsylvania, with the Payment of a Fine, one half of which goes to the Governor. The Favour they would ask of your Honour is to be so far their Benefactor as to Remit your Part of the Fine, towards Enabling them to finish the Church. Tho' I well know, my Dear Sir, that you don't much trouble yourself about church buildings, yet I am persuaded your Natural Generosity of Temper and Good Disposition of Hart, towards helping any Sober Community, in Effecting a Work which will make them Happy, and have a tendency to promote Religion and Good Order, will strongly Prompt you to give up your perquisite in the Case of this proposed Lottery. . . ."

The Assembly had reserved to itself the right to make exceptions to its own law. No such exception was made for many years, though the Philadelphia City Council exercised the right to authorize a lottery in 1747 for the fortification of the city, and in 1748 for street paving. How the worthy citizens must have congratulated themselves because they were securing such wonderful improvements without cost—except to those deluded individuals who invested good money in tickets and received nothing in return!

In the meantime other Colonies were making lottery history. In 1737 Alexander Kerr, of Williamsburg, Virginia, was permitted to announce a scheme for the distribution of all sorts of jewels. The percentage of chances

was much more largely in his favor than was the case in many later lotteries. He promised but 80 prizes, though 400 tickets were to be disposed of.

The purpose of a lottery advertised in Virginia in 1753, in the same paper, was to prepare for defense against the French. In this drawing 25,000 tickets were to be sold for a pistole each, which there were to be had 2,050 prizes. Evidently it was felt that the patriotic purpose would be sufficient to blind purchasers to the great odds against them.

Virginia's records show another lottery in 1768, when a planter advertised tickets for a lottery in which the prizes were to be his plantation, slaves, furniture, in New Kent County. His affecting appeal was that the charitably inclined should, by purchasing liberally, relieve him of misfortunes caused by his own generosity and hospitality.

Usually, however, lotteries were for a more praiseworthy purpose than the relief of private indebtedness—and it was this that gave the institution such a hold on the Colonies, though there were never lacking those who, on principle, opposed it.

Between 1755 and 1761 many of the lotteries held in Philadelphia were for the benefit of twenty-seven schools, from institutions that disappeared long ago, to the predecessor of the great University of Pennsylvania. The 250,000 tickets sold in these schemes took $11,000,000 from the pockets of the people. How small a proportion of this amount found its way to the coffers of the institutions is evident from the fact that in the early lotteries it was the general plan to make all prizes subject to a deduction of, frequently, 15 per cent. This deduction took care of expenses and provided the profits for the cause.

In view of the small receipts of the beneficiaries, it is

difficult to understand how men and women could read without a smile such an announcement as was made by those interested in the lottery in behalf of the Leicester Academy, Lancaster, Massachusetts. On June 28, 1790, the advertisers, who offered 3,000 tickets for two dollars each, said:

"As the design of the Lottery is for promoting Piety, Virtue and such of the Liberal Arts and Sciences as may qualify the youth to become Useful Members of Society, the managers wish for and expect the aid of the Gentlemen Trustees of the Academy, the Reverend Clergy, and all persons who have a taste for encouraging said Seminary of Learning."

The Boston *Columbian Centinel,* on May 22, 1790, told of another educational lottery in terms bombastic:

"The metropolis of Massachusetts hath ever been celebrated for the attention it hath paid to the education of its youth. In the elder world, as Franklin hath been a living testimony of it, as well as in the younger. But not confined to the youth of the town is the benevolent disposition—it extends to the remotest parts of the commonwealth; and hath been abundantly manifested in the liberal encouragement given to the Williamstown Free School Library. The Class to be drawn on Monday next, will perhaps, be the last opportunity our citizens may have to gratify their humane wishes—which they will not let pass unimproved, especially as great pecuniary profit may attend the gratification."

When the managers of the Harvard College lottery of 1794 advertised the 25,000 tickets, of which one-third were to draw prizes, they said:

"The Managers believe it enough, to induce the Public to become Adventurers, to inform them, that the object

of the Lottery is to erect a new Building at the University in Cambridge, for the further accommodation of the Students. The Friends of literature are to be found everywhere, and, when its cause can be served, and a good Chance for personal emolument at the same time presents itself, the double inducement, it is conceived, must operate in favor of the Lottery."

The specious plea to seek wealth by risking the loss of the investment was made by Harvard in a later lottery. In their announcement the managers dared to suggest that they had remedied "the serious evil" that had befallen adventurers in past lotteries, who had "drawn blanks which were worth nothing." These managers had "in their wisdom taken the misery of the evil into consideration," and so gave "a scheme preferable to any former one, by which it seems that from 20,000 to 50,000 dollars will be distributed among persons whose tickets are drawn blanks in this lottery."

Dartmouth College, in 1796, was, it was thought, quite generous with the buyers of 6,000 tickets at five dollars each; 1896 were to draw prizes, so that the managers wrote that they "flatter themselves that the same Public Spirit will be displayed, by encouraging the sale of Tickets in this, that was so fully manifested in the former class."

The Rhode Island College (Brown University) was not behind, either in plan, in bombast, or in promises. In 1797 an advertisement in the Salem *Gazette* gave information:

"The Corporation of the College, wishing to discharge to the best manner the trusts reposed in them for the education of youth, and finding their funds inadequate to the purpose, have obtained of the General Assembly . . . the grant of a Lottery. As the Sole object of this is the

public good, it is hoped that the exertions of the Corporation will meet the wishes and secure the coöperation of all the friends of science and virtue."

The law made by the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1759 shows that not all the people were deceived by such announcements. Its preamble stated unsavory facts:

"Whereas many mischievous and unlawful games called lotteries have been set up in the city of Philadelphia, which tend to the manifest corruption of youth and ruin and impoverishment of many poor families:

"And whereas such pernicious practices may not only give opportunities to evil disposed persons to cheat and defraud the honest inhabitants of the province, but prove introductions of vice, idleness, and immorality, injurious to trade, commerce and industry, and against the common good, welfare, and peace of the province. . . ."

That was brave language. But it amounted to little, since its purpose was to discourage unauthorized private lotteries; the sacred government lotteries were still to be permitted. Perhaps this was, in part, the excuse for the failure of the government and Council to approve the Act. Another reason was that the law was directed against plays, as well as lotteries. And when the law of 1762 spoke of lotteries only, it was suffered by the higher powers to remain on the statute books.

Its effect was not great, however, as may be seen from the fact that, while there had been but 23 lotteries on the 34 years before 1762, there were 176 lotteries in the 86 years from 1747 to 1833, with 8,000,000 tickets and $50,000,000 in prizes! And of the 176 lotteries 98 different churches benefited, though sometimes more than one church was interested in a single scheme.

Two of the church lotteries were for the purpose of

building steeples for Philadelphia churches. The argument of the advertiser of one of them was, "It is generally acknowledged that a variety of Steeples of different forms beautifies cities, and renders the prospect more agreeable."

Benjamin Franklin was one of the thirteen managers of the Philadelphia Steeple Lottery of 1752 and 1753, and the steeple of Christ Church was the result.

In 1761 the *Pennsylvania Gazette* told of the "most sincere thanks to the Adventurers in the Late Lottery," for finishing and completing St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia; the alacrity and cheerfulness manifested on that occasion, by filling the lottery in less than twenty days from its publication, deserves the most public acknowledgement."

No wonder gratitude was expressed for such speed when lottery schemes were becoming so plentiful that the people were not able to absorb all the tickets offered. Many times a lottery dragged on year after year, and was, ultimately, a failure. The evil became so great that a great lottery scheme for which repeated drawings were authorized sold but $60,000 of the proposed $400,000 in sixteen years. The practice of one province sending its tickets for sale into another province added to the difficulty. Philadelphia, as the chief city of the Colonies, was a great sufferer. This evil became so great that the legislature at last, in 1791, ordered that, since "tickets and chances in lotteries set up and established in other places have been sold in great numbers within the Commonwealth to the impoverishment of divers unwary citizens, to the discouraging of industry, and contrary to the spirit of the Act of 1762," there should be a penalty of £5 for offering for sale such tickets. But the law failed of its

purpose; the fine was so small that the venders preferred to pay it and continue the sale. This act remained on the statute books until 1860, more than twenty-five years after the lottery was outlawed there.

Lotteries for public improvements were frequently sufferers by reason of the delay in buying sufficient tickets to make the drawings possible and profitable. Yet the fault was not in the announcements. Witness the advertisement in the Boston *Gazette* on May 19, 1760, of the lottery "for raising a Sum of Money for the building and maintaining a Bridge over the River Parker in the town of Newbury, at the Place called Old Tree Ferry." Two dollars was the price for each of 5,000 tickets, and it was the purpose to retain but $1,000 "for the purpose aforesaid."

The bridge, it was pointed out, was already built; the managers of a former lottery had not raised sufficient money.

"And since the said Bridge so will answer the Expectation of the Public, and the Travelling that Way thereby is rendered much more easy and pleasant, the Managers doubt not that there will be a great Demand of the Tickets, from a Principle of encouraging and promoting Work of such general utility if there were not other inducement. But when they Consider how much the Scheme is calculated in Favor of the Adventurers, there being many Prizes of great Value, and but two Blanks to a Prize; they doubt not of a very speedy sale of the tickets."

What a chance there would have been for a wise financier like Benjamin Franklin to point out the absurdity of $10,000 worth of tickets to secure $1,000 for a public work! Such a man would have had a good text also in the Boston scheme of 1762 to secure funds for the repair

of Faneuil Hall after the fire of 1761. The net returns were to be one-tenth of the subscription. And this amount would have been provided if each of Boston's 20,000 inhabitants had chosen to give six cents!

Other Colonies, like Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, were eager for funds for public works, to be raised by the specious lottery. In 1761 a Southern plan was for money for a lighthouse at Cape Henlopen, and in 1768 Virginia asked for a profit of £900, to be applied to the expense of a road to be built over the mountains to Warm and Hot Springs, which, for twenty years, had been a health and summer resort for the people of the Old Dominion.

That same year a Philadelphia plan to secure bids for street improvement in Philadelphia called out decidedly unfavorable opinions from England. "This," it was said, "is a practice which . . . ought by no Means to be encouraged, as obviously tending to discourage citizens from Industry and Attention to their proper Callings and Occupations and introduce a Spirit of dissipation prejudicial to the Fortunes of Individuals and the Interests of the Public." So the Governor of Pennsylvania was told that he must not, upon any pretense whatever, "give his assent to any future act of that nature, without having previously secured His Majesty's Permission for that purpose."

One reason for the unpopularity in England of such schemes in America was that they interfered with plans to raise the annual revenue!

Soon, however, came the day when America made its own laws. Accordingly, on November 1, 1776, Congress resolved "that a sum of Money be raised by way of the lottery, to be drawn in Philadelphia." The scheme proved a failure.

The first lottery after the Revolution of which there is record was for the benefit of Robert Edge Pine, an artist who came from England to Philadelphia in 1784. In the house which he bought he placed on exhibition his historical paintings and other objects of art. Then came debt, and sudden death. Lest the paintings be sent away from America, permission was given for a lottery at which they were to be awarded to those who held prize numbers.

Then Massachusetts came into the limelight with a scheme of an entirely different character. In October, 1786, a committee of the legislature was asked "to view any new-invented machines that are making within the Commonwealth for the purpose of manufacturing sheep's or cotton wool, and to report what measures it is proper to take for the legislature to encourage the same."

The notion that the lottery was the best and easiest way to dispose of requests for subsidies for infant industries was responsible probably for the disappointment of two weavers from Scotland, who had constructed not only a machine for weaving, but also a roping machine, and contrivances "for cording, roping, and spinning of sheep's wool as well as cotton wool." They were granted the £200 they sought, but they were told the amount was to be theirs not in cash, but in tickets in the land lottery of 1787!

The year of the inauguration of the first President of the United States witnessed, in Philadelphia, the beginning of a lottery scheme which had two rather diverse objectives: first, the needs of the new Dickinson College in the Borough of Carlisle, and, second, the "erection of a Common Hall in Philadelphia, to be located on the public square which would not only be ornamental, but a very convenient place for holding public gatherings, such

as the meetings of Congress." The amount authorized for ticket sales was $50,000. Of this sum 20 per cent was to be deducted from the prizes, $8,000 of it to go to the Common Hall, and $2,000 to the college.

The improvement in financial conditions which followed the beginning of Constitutional Government in the new country did not make the people any more favorable to unusual measures for taxation. As before, the lottery was the resort as a panacea for all sorts of financial ills. Roads, street improvements, bridges, and public buildings were all told to appeal to the "Adventurous."

Mingled with plans for public betterment were some of the plans that had been given prominence at an earlier day. In 1789 an advertisement in the *Times and Patowmack Packet* told of $1,500 to be raised for a new church in Rock Creek, opposite Georgetown, which later became a part of the District of Columbia.

The appeal of a State Lottery advertised in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1795, "To defray the Expences of Finishing, in a durable Manner, a Street at the North End of the Town," had a wider appeal: "This being the great Continental Thoroughfare and Post Road, and much frequented at all Seasons, by Persons on Foot and Horseback, and by Teams and Carriages, needs the Greatest Attention. . . . The old Road was crooked and inconvenient, the new Street is Streight, and secured in such a manner as to be passed by Carriages at all Times with Ease and Safety."

Connecticut came to the front with a number of schemes during the last decade of the century. In May, 1793, the General Assembly authorized a lottery to raise a sum "for erecting and completing the State House at Hartford"

(the famous Bullfinch Capitol). This lottery proved a disappointment to its promoters.

The provision was made for the deduction of 12½ per cent from the prizes of the Connecticut Manufactory Lottery of 1794, which was to raise £3,200 "for the Encouragement of a Manufactory of Woolen, Worsted, and Cotton."

At about the same time attempts were made in Washington, the new capital of the nation, to promote several lotteries that had an unfortunate history. One of these was proposed early in 1793 by Samuel Blodgett, who had been appointed superintendent of the District of Columbia. It was to be a federal lottery, he said, and it was advertised in the name of the commission appointed to prepare the public buildings, etc., within the city of Washington. The advertisement was signed by him, in his capacity as agent for the city. The capital prize was to be a hotel building, which was to cost $50,000.

This lottery being a failure, "Federal Lottery Number Two" was announced in 1794. Neither the city officials nor George Washington felt that Blodgett should use the title, since the lottery was a private affair, though he declared that the earnings were to go to the national university to be founded in Washington. The capital prize was to be a house worth $30,000; other prizes were to be houses near by, some of them built on the block south of the Capitol.

This lottery also was a failure. The difficulty as to the name was merely the first of many. Finally Blodgett's property was bought in at bankrupt's sale by the prize-winners in the first lottery, when Blodgett, compelled to shoulder responsibility for the lottery and therefore for the payment of the prizes, found himself unable to

meet his obligations. The history of the second lottery was inextricably mingled with that of the first. It, too, was long drawn out. Finally the Washington *Gazette* positively suggested the wisdom of the mention of this property in the wills of ticket holders.

In the meantime Philadelphia had held a lottery to raise funds for the stone arch bridge over the Perkiomen Creek—a sturdy structure that is still the admiration of those who use it. In the same year Lancaster provided similarly for street paving, thus following the example of Philadelphia, which held five lotteries for street improvements. For these 100,000 tickets were sold, and among these were the winners of $500,000 in prizes. Only $70,000 was received for the objects in view.

Again the scene shifts to Washington. On April 10, 1800, the Secretary of the Treasury responded to a request from the Committee of Ways and Means for suggestions as to methods of increasing the national revenue. It was necessary to secure $680,000 for interest on new loans, and it was desired, naturally, to secure the amount with the least possible friction. "Might not a national lottery be established, so as to raise $100,000 to $150,000 annually?" the question was asked. "And how far would such a mode of taxation be advisable?" was the next query of the cautious official.

In 1811 an advertisement in a Boston paper told of the proposed drawing in Baltimore, on September 4, of a lottery whose profits were planned for the Washington Monument in Baltimore. The prizes were to be from $50,000 down. The price of tickets was to be $11. But the announcement said nothing either of the total number of tickets or of the amount of prizes.

In Washington, during a few years beginning with 1812,

eight lottery schemes were inaugurated by Congress, with the approval of the President—for a canal, for schoolhouses, for a workhouse, and for a city hall. From these the city was to net $80,000. But the plan went awry. Five years passed before there was a drawing in the first scheme of the series. By that time the city was saddled with debt, because of the defalcation of the trusted manager of the enterprises.

At one time or another most of the Colonies and early states had lotteries. A study of the Virginia statute book shows forty or fifty Acts of Assembly authorizing drawings. While Georgia did not make much use of the plan in early days, there are recorded thirteen grants made after 1825. Delaware, Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky had some share in the craze. North Carolina gave her assent to the lottery sparingly, though the grant for the improvement of the Neuse River was an exception. New York was prodigal in her licenses. The fever grew to such an extent that in 1830 schemes for a total of more than nine million dollars were authorized. Some of the states, like New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Illinois, steadfastly set themselves against lottery grants, though they permitted the sale of foreign tickets.

Once the lottery was promoted by those who wished to see as much profit as possible for the purpose advertised. But seekers after personal gain began to fatten on the spoils. Lottery brokers in Philadelphia increased rapidly. In 1827 there were 60 of these gentry; in 1831 there were 177, and in 1833 there were more than 200. And these men not only sold tickets which they almost guaranteed to be prize-winners, but also policies to insure the purchaser against loss!

These brokers were skillful advertisers. They showed

it in naming their offices. There was the "Truly Lucky Office," "Truly Fortunate Lottery and Exchange Office," and the "Old Gold Mint." Latshaw's Lucky Office advertised:

"If once Dame Fortune lets you draw,
You'll find her faithful ever;
Her only agent is Latshaw,
And he'll forget you never."

One dealer must have been the forerunner of the writers of more modern blue sky promotion circulars; after telling the price of tickets, he added, "On the first of next month they will probably be raised, as the Drawing will positively commence on Monday the Eighteenth of April. There are but a few on hand; therefore apply Speedily, as you may be disappointed."

Once, in 1786, the announcement was made in the *Massachusetts Gazette:*

"The highest prize in the State Lottery was drawn by a number of Females. About thirty were joint possessors of that fortunate number and five others. The highest share in this did not exceed one dollar, and the lowest was ninepence . . . by which circumstance the property of the prize is most agreeably divided. It has excited a smile on the cheek of poverty, nor diminished the pleasure of those in easy circumstances."

John Russell, in the Salem (Massachusetts) *Gazette,* said, in 1807:

"Let stubborn prejudice be laid aside, and an immediate resort made to that Grand Antipoverty corrective, Cash, which is now proffered as a sovereign remedy for all the Complaints that poverty is heir to."

In 1809 the Boston *Repertory* presented an advertisement in rhyme, which began:

"In the fishpond of fortune men angle always,
Some angle for titles, some angle for praise.
Some angle for favor, some angle for wives,
And some angle for nought all the days of their lives:
Ye who'd angle for Wealth, and would Fortunes obtain,
Get your hooks baited by Kidder, Gilbert & Dean."

And it was in Boston in the *Palladium* that an advertiser said, in 1819:

"It is a little remarkable that the great Union Canal lottery commences drawing on the 22d inst., being the birthday of Washington—and the first drawn blank will be entitled to Four Thousand Dollars."

Such announcements were sent to distant points. It became the custom to mail announcements to country postmasters, for display to their patrons when they came for their letters and newspapers. In the broadside collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a rare sheet, printed in 1824, which announced the prizes in the drawing of the Union Canal Lottery. This copy was mailed to the postmaster at Clarksburg, Maryland. It is not difficult to picture the absorption of the men and women who pored over the message, telling of the single prize of $50,000, and the 16,608 prizes of $10 each. The total of prizes was to be $273,760, and 12,120 tickets would share in the money. Of course there would be 22,100 blanks. But who ever subscribes to a lottery, expecting to draw a blank? The greed for gold was appealed to further by the statement:

"A considerable portion of the Lottery is put up in parcels of 20 tickets, embracing all the combination numbers from 1 to 60, which parcels cannot possibly draw less than $80, less the deduction of 15 per cent, with so many chances at the Capital Prizes."

The chief appeal in the broadside was for the Union Canal. A subordinate place was given to the New York State Literature Lottery. In this a packet of twenty tickets was "warranted to draw at least $54."

Sometimes, alas! unfair methods were used. Cases were known where tickets already drawn were sold a second time. For this reason it was felt wiser to reassure the public by some such phrase as "Wheels very rich!" Again, the word was given concerning the Amoskeag Lottery: "The highest prize being so fixed as to come out whenever chance shall direct it, it stands purchasers to be seasonable in their application."

John Russell, the indefatigable advertiser, in 1807, stirred up doubtful readers by saying:

"If any body wants Ten Thousand Dollars, they are requested to call on John Russell, who will, for a trifling consideration, put them in a way to realize that or another sum of less magnitude, in the course of September next, when the rich Wheels of Hatfield Bridge Lottery begin to move."

An advertisement in the *Salem Gazette* of Dec. 25, 1812, offered for sale a Historical Dictionary, and quoted that volume's rather severe definition of a lottery:

"A kind of public game at hazard, in order to raise money for the service of the state. A lottery consists of several numbers of blanks and prizes, which are drawn out of wheels, one of which contains the numbers of the tickets and the other the corresponding blanks and prizes.

Besides the consideration that this, as well as all other kinds of gambling, for money, tends to Corrupt the public minds, is also to be considered that the purchasers of the tickets are never permitted to play the game on fair and equal ground. The world never even saw, nor ever will see, a perfectly fair lottery; or one in which the whole gain compensated the whole loss, because the undertaker could make nothing by it. In lotteries the tickets are really not worth the price which is paid by the original purchasers, and yet they often sell in the market at a considerable advance: the vain hope of gaining some of the great prizes is the cause of the demand. In order to have a better chance for some of the large prizes, some people purchase several tickets, and others small shares in a still greater number. There is not, however, a more certain proposition in mathematics, than that the more tickets you adventure upon, the more likely you are to be a loser. Adventure upon all the tickets in the lottery and you will lose for certain; and the greater the number of your tickets, the more you approach to the certainty."

Rather poor stuff for a lottery advertisement! Yet it was used in precisely that manner. For, after quoting the dictionary, the astute agent, who knew human nature, said:

"The above is surely a just account of the nature and principles of a Lottery; yet it does not destroy the fact, that, distributed as the tickets always are among thousands, there must be some gainers, and that, in spite of mathematics, there is a lucky number, which must draw the capital prize in the Plymouth Beach Lottery (without any deduction) of 12,000 dollars. Both the Historical Dictionary and Lottery Tickets may be had from the advertiser."

A disgusted minister in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1771, made an entry in his diary which showed how he regarded the lottery as a helper to a true life. He observed that there had been no singing at church that day. Two men had promised to be there to lead, "but by drawing a prize of £300 in the Lottery, they have been detained from Public Worship."

Then there was the facetious contributor to the *Columbian Centinel* of February 26, 1791, who addressed to John Russell a letter that showed the absurdity of the claims of the lottery's partisans:

"A friend to religion, and one who wishes the memorial of a certain respectable society may have a happy effect, but a zealous enemy to lotteries, asked a member of an important body the other day, whether he thought the General Court would grant a Lottery for the purpose of supplying every person in the eastern part of the Commonwealth with a Bible, who is unable to purchase one, and for the pay of a Missionary. Let not the serious reader frown, as that member did; for if there is nothing contained in that Sacred book which can be thought opposed to this method of gambling, neither the one nor the other can give a substantial reason why, in the present rage of lotteries, the people should not be indulged in raising money in the way most agreeable to their humour."

An opinion, favorable to the lottery, was given in good faith in the *Salem Gazette* of June 29, 1790:

"Lotteries have of late been a very productive source of revenue in this State. The Moral tendency of these has been supposed by some to be injurious to society; and government have been careful to grant them for such purposes only, as that the probable benefit shall outweigh the evil. By this Means we have seen the interests of litera-

ture supported—the arts encouraged—the wastes of war repaired—the burthen of taxes lessened, &c. Manufactures might also in this way be established. Those which will not support themselves, it is true, will not benefit the community, but there are very important ones, which in their infancy require the nursing hand of government—to such the produce of lotteries might be especially applied. . . . The monies raised by lotteries cannot impoverish the Community—as they are not sent abroad, but only taken out of one pocket and put into another."

In the same paper, on February 25, 1794, a writer who opposed lotteries said to the editor:

"As our Legislature has lately had under consideration a bill, for granting a Lottery to Harvard College, I beg you will publish what our countryman, Joel Barton, said on the subject of Lotteries, in his Letter to the National Convention of France:

"It is a shocking disgrace of modern governments, that they are driven to this pitiful piece of knavery, to draw Money from the people. . . . It has its origin in deception; and depends for its support, on raising and disappointing the hopes of individuals—or perpetually agitating the mind with unreasonable desires of gain—on clouding the understanding with superstitious ideas of chance, destiny, and fate—on diverting the attention from regular industry, and promoting a universal spirit of gambling, which carries all sorts of vice into all classes of people. . . . What shall we say of a government that avowedly steps forward, with the insolence of an open enemy, and creates a new vice, for the sake of loading it with a tax? What right has such a government to permit our follies? And who can look without disgust on the

impious figure it makes, in holding the scourge in one hand, and the temptation in the other? You cannot hesitate to declare, in your constitution, that all lotteries shall be forever abolished."

So the new Constitution of France did as was suggested:

"Lotteries, of whatever nature they may be, or under whatever denomination they may exist, are suppressed."

Soon after 1830 the opposition to the lottery of such thoughtful men and women as the writer of that letter to the *Gazette* began to bear fruit. One by one the states outlawed it. One of the bitterest fights was in Pennsylvania, where the beginning of the end was a citizens' meeting in Philadelphia, held January 12, 1833, when John R. Tyson presented a reasoned essay against the lottery, which he had prepared by request. Five thousand copies of this were ordered distributed in pamphlet form, and later a second edition was printed "for distribution through those states in which lotteries are still permitted to exist."

Since the document had much to do with the death of the lottery in Pennsylvania, a study of its pages is well worth while. After pointing out that the lottery is indefensible as a tax, inconsistent with establishments for moral objects; unprofitable as a means of revenue; more seductive than ordinary gambling, it proceeded:

"Cases are numerous, exhibiting its effects as the production of insolvency and pecuniary distress, in exciting to the commission of extreme and multifarious frauds, and in leading to suicide, and other atrocious felonies."

A list of bankruptcies due to the lottery was given. Then facts were given convincingly:

"The vender, as if to secure customers at any hazard, has standing current accounts with girls in kitchens, ap-

THE COURT OF THE UNITED STATES POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT BUILDING AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

(Showing the World's Largest Flag)

"CAPTAIN GEORGE LOWTHER AND HIS COMPANY AT PORT MAYO IN THE GULPH OF MATIQUE"
(From an Old Print)

prentices to trades, and young clerks in stores, who from month to month, are debited with tickets, and credited with prizes. The unprotected boys are importuned in the streets by some emissary of a lottery office, and if persuasion be insufficient to induce a purchase, the tickets are sometimes thrust upon them. Hand-bills of the most insidious and seductive character find their way into stores, taverns, and kitchens. Placards, pictures, and signs, powerfully appealing to the imagination of the simple, are exposed to public view. Every act which experience has suggested and ingenuity can devise, is applied to for the purpose of discovering the credulous and alluring the unwary."

The campaign succeeded in Pennsylvania, as it had succeeded in other states, and was soon to prevail in all.

It is strange that Louisiana, which, with other Southern States, was reluctant to permit the lottery entrance, which outlawed it in 1834, provided for the lottery its final hold in the United States. During the twenty-five years from 1868 to 1893 the evils of the early days were emphasized by the expenditure of vast sums under auspices that tried to make the institution respectable, and succeeded in fastening its tentacles on the state until it required almost a miracle to dislodge them. But dislodged they were, to the glory of Louisiana, and to the profit of the entire country.

CHAPTER XI

IN THE DAYS OF THE PIRATES

IT IS a fact known to most readers of history that American vessels were for many years subject to the exactions of pirates of the Mediterranean. But the knowledge is not so general that for much more than a century the menace of the pirates was ever in the minds of captains who sailed from Atlantic ports, especially those who sought Southern waters.

Those who begin to read of the activities of these freebooters of the sea very soon find that they must distinguish between pirates and privateers. Privateers were masters of vessels who were commissioned by a particular country to prey on the commerce of another country, an enemy against whom war had been declared, or with whom difficulties were in process of solution. But a pirate was a self-commissioned sea-rover who declared war on the commerce of any nation at will; his object was to secure as much booty as possible, without regard to the manner of getting it or the ships from which it was taken.

It must be remembered, also, that the privateer frequently forgot his responsibility to the nation from which he had received his commission, and became a pirate, an enemy even of the country which set him loose on its enemies. Many a pirate began as a privateer, and many pirates tried to hide behind a privateer's commission.

The activity of the privateer was an encouragement to the most barefaced piracy, and the seas most frequented

by the privateer became the favorite hunting waters of the pirate. Thus it came to pass that the Atlantic seamen most in danger were those who made voyages between Portland, Salem, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and the ports of the South Atlantic Coast and the West Indies.

In the first papers printed in the Colonies, it was common to tell of the unexplained disappearance of some vessel; the desperate fight with a pirate, related by survivors; appeals to the authorities; the sending out of a punitive expedition; the arrest, trial, and punishment of the criminals, and the address from the gallows of some victim of his own cupidity who seemed to take pleasure in telling how he came to his awful end, with a warning to others not to follow in his footsteps.

One of the earliest of these stories told of Captain Mantel, who, in September, 1716, after equipping a sloop with ample provisions, with four double guns, and with eighty men, took a number of rich prizes in the West Indies, one of them being loaded with slaves from Africa. The captain of a British war vessel, determined to protect the trade to the American Colonies, pursued the sloop, which ran aground. The pirates, together with twenty of the Negroes, escaped to the woods, and were never heard of again.

Soon after the beginning of Mantel's venture, Major Stede Bonnet, a highly respected resident of Barbadoes, surprised all who knew him by equipping the *Revenge* with guns, and then sailing with sixty men to the Capes of Virginia. There he took several prizes. Next he was heard of near New York, where another ship became his victim. In South Carolina waters he captured two vessels. When overhauled, he pretended to be a privateer, but he became reckless and declared himself a pirate. His

later escapades were off Cape Henry, where he took four vessels, and near Philadelphia, where he made himself a terror to ships which came out of the Delaware River. But when he went down to the Cape Fear River, to make repairs, he was captured and was taken to Charleston. There being no prison in the city, he was kept under guard. He contrived to escape, but was brought back to Charleston in time to share the fate of thirty-two men who were found guilty of piracy and sentenced to be hanged.

Those were the days of the nefarious activity of the redoubtable Captain Teach, or Blackbeard, who began his career by capturing a ship bound to the Carolinas. His equipment was slight until he captured a French vessel which mounted forty-six guns. This he renamed *Queen Anne's Revenge,* hoisted the black flag, and captured many ships, among them a vessel from Boston. This ship he burned because he proposed to take vengeance on a city which had put to death two of his men, captured in the act of piracy.

In North Carolina he marooned seventeen of his men on an island, leaving them to starve. Two days later they were rescued by the pirate Bonnet, who seemed to have a fellow feeling for pirates in distress, even if he was ruthless in his attacks on the defenseless.

The next chapter in Blackbeard's career tells of collusion with officials in North Carolina, who winked at his offenses and shared his treasures. For a time profitable voyages were made between North Carolina and Barbadoes, to the sorrow of many captains who fell in with him. Finally, however, he met a man who struck back. After losing his ship, he persuaded others to join him in sending a delegation to the governor of Virginia, asking him for several vessels, to punish the pirate. Although

"CAPTAIN TEACH COMMONLY CALLED BLACK-BEARD"
(From an Old Print)

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS
(From an Old Print) (See page 240)

Blackbeard received word of the coming of the avengers, he would not flee, but arrogantly determined to defend himself and his men. To his amazement, the contest that ensued went against him. Twenty of his fellow pirates were killed at the first shot, and he soon fell, mortally wounded. The captors returned to Virginia with the head of the leader hanging from a conspicuous place on the vessel, and with thirteen prisoners, who were forthwith tried, sentenced, and hanged.

Tales of buried treasure left by Blackbeard are told at many places along the Delaware, in Virginia, and in North Carolina. But the secret of Blackbeard's hoard perished with him. The night before he died, he was asked if his wife knew where to go for it. "Nobody but the devil and myself knows," he said, "and the longest liver will take it all."

On July 10, 1723, at Newport, Rhode Island, occurred the most extensive execution of pirates in Colonial history. Twenty-six men, after conviction in a Court of Admiralty, were hanged at Balls Point, near Newport, between high tide and low tide, and were later buried where the tide covered the sands.

The crimes for which these men suffered were committed off North Atlantic ports. After capturing several vessels, by means of the *Ranger* and the *Fortune,* the two sloops that flew the black flag, they were pursued by the British ship *Greyhound.* On June 10, 1723, the pursuers overhauled the pirate about fourteen leagues south of the east end of Long Island. Mistaking the war vessel for a merchantman, the pirate opened fire. One of the pirate ships was captured, while the other escaped.

Naturally there was much anxiety all along the coast, because it was never known when an unauthorized enemy

might descend either upon their vessels or, as happened more than once, on a town or a farmhouse that could not defend itself. An example of this ever-present fear was the spirit which led the *American Weekly Mercury* of July 12, 1722, to say:

"We have heard this Day from Lewis Town, That a Brigantine has been observed to stand in and off our Capes about a League southward, for two or three Days together lately, the Wind being Southerly and blowing an easy Gale. She is supposed to be a Pyrate by most Persons there, having her Main-sail down, her Fore-Sail clewed up, and standing under her Top-sails; being seen by a great many as they were at Harvest Work, at one Plantation near the Sea-Shore."

Evidently intending passengers were timid about sailing into infested waters. So the agents of vessels learned the necessity of printing such a statement as that which appeared in the *Mercury* of November 7, 1728. The Snow *Blackbird* was advertised to sail within fourteen days from Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, and Curaçoa. The announcement concluded with the following reassuring words: "The Vessel hath extraordinary good accommodations for Passengers, a fine Sailer, well fitted, and can make a tolerable Defence if attacked by an Enemy."

Again, on March 27, 1729, the *Mercury* gave a picture of human nature, manifested in a different way:

"The odd Humour of Digging for Money thro' a Belief that much has been hid by Pirates, formerly frequenting the River, had for several years been mighty prevalent among us; insomuch that you can hardly walk half a mile out of Town on any Side, without observing several Pits dug with that Design, and perhaps some lately opened. Men, otherwise of very good Sense, have been drawn into

the Practice thro' an over-weening Desire of sudden Wealth . . . While the rational and almost certain Methods of acquiring Riches by Industry and Frugality are neglected or forgotten. . . . If the Sands of Schuylkill were so much mixed with small Grains of Gold that a Man might in a Day's Time with Care and Application get together to the Value of half a Crown, I make no question but we should find several People employed there that Can with Ease earn five Shillings a Day at their Proper Trade. . . . Surely this is nothing less than the most egregious Folly and Madness."

Once again the *Mercury*. On October 28, 1731, the editor served up what must have seemed to him a delectable morsel. At a Court of Admiralty, held at Philadelphia, four men were accused of piracy and robbery upon the high seas:

"For they . . . not having the fear of God before their Eyes, but being led by the Instigation of the Devil, did, with Force and Arms, the Fifth Day of June last, upon the High Seas, one league or thereabouts distant from the Island of Tercera . . . Piratically and Feloniously set upon, board, break and enter a certain Pink-stem'd Merchant Ship . . . and then and there Piratically and Feloniously did put the Marines then and there having possession of the said ship and Cargo . . . in fear of their Lives, and then and there the said Ship and her Cargoe did Piratically and Feloniously steal and Carry away. . . . "

The chief witness against the accused was a Philadelphia merchant, who had been supercargo on the ship *Joseph,* bound from St. Christopher's to Virginia. On August 16 they spoke a Pink-stem'd ship, whose captain made a deal with the captain of the *Joseph,* transferred

his cargo to the larger vessel, and sank the Pink. The supercargo objected to the captain's evident purpose to share in the profits of the pirates and when the ship reached Lewes on the Delaware, he informed the authorities, at Philadelphia. Officers boarded her, and the captain and the boat's crew were arrested and later were sentenced to death. But a recommendation to mercy was sent to His Majesty, because the pirate had not taken life.

Such untoward incidents marred ocean travel for many years. During the Revolution the power of pirates proved amazing, and after the Revolution there was more piracy. For instance, on August 27, 1799, the brig *Eliza* sailed from Philadelphia, bound for St. Thomas. Three of the crew were foreigners. These mutinied, slew many of their opponents, and compelled the captain—as they thought—to navigate the vessel to the Spanish Main, where they counted on a career of piracy. But the captain deceived them. Somehow he managed to navigate the vessel practically alone until he fell in with a man of war, which captured the pirates and took them to Philadelphia. On April 21, 1800, they were found guilty, and on May 9, 1800, they were hanged on an island in the Delaware opposite Philadelphia—an island that was long ago removed as a menace to navigation. Not much delay in those days between the capture, the conviction, and the execution!

One of the most famous of the pirates who were active in American waters was John Lafitte. There is some uncertainty as to his early years. One account says that he was born in France about 1780, and that he went to the West Indies bearing a commission as a privateer from the government at Carthagena. His instructions were to do all the damage he could to the ships of Spain and Great

Britain. His headquarters were at Guadeloupe. But when Guadeloupe became British territory, he had no place of refuge.

But by this time he had fallen in love with the free and easy life of the buccaneer, and became a pirate in earnest. Between 1810 and 1812 he was the terror of the waters tributary to New Orleans. His headquarters were on the Island Grand Terre, in Barataria Bay, perhaps fifty miles from the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Though he still pretended that he was doing the will of the republic of Carthagena (or New Granada) he took many prizes and smuggled the stolen goods into New Orleans. He and his men knew every passage in the intricate series of bayous, swamps, and lakes in the vicinity of that city. For a time their knowledge saved them from difficulty, but in 1814 Grand Terre was captured by a government expedition under Commodore Patterson. Vessels were destroyed, but the pirates escaped. A price was put on the head of the leader and his associates.

A little later the British fleet was preparing for a descent on New Orleans. A brig of war sought Barataria, with a letter to Lafitte, telling him of the desire of the British for his help. If he would do all he could for the enemies of New Orleans, he would receive $30,000, a commission, and other substantial rewards. He managed to keep the British unsuspicious until he learned their plans.

Then he acted promptly. A letter was sent to Governor Claiborne of Louisiana, in which he spoke of himself as "the straying sheep wishing to return to the fold." He told of the plans of the enemy, and said he would be glad to do what he could to thwart them.

Soon he found himself in New Orleans, where he went

to see Governor Claiborne. General Andrew Jackson was with him. To them the pirate said:

"Gentlemen, you know that I wish to be allowed to defend that part of Louisiana which I am in possession of; but I will not, nay, must not, do this while I am an outlaw. The portion of your territory which I occupy is of the greatest importance at this crisis. For its defense I offer not alone my personal service, but of all my people, among whom are many Americans whom you thus restore to a citizenship which they hold sacred. The sole reward they and I ask is the cessation of all proscription directed against me and men by an act of oblivion for all that is past."

The proposal of Lafitte was considered carefully, and his help was accepted, on his own terms.

The British fleet descended on the coast, and its commander was surprised to learn that he was expected. In the later campaign, which culminated in the Battle of New Orleans, Lafitte was a doughty leader, a valuable assistant of Jackson, and was by that commander commended for great and effective bravery in driving back the enemy when they were about to take an important position. President Madison recognized his bravery by confirming the amnesty granted to him by General Jackson.

After the battle Lafitte settled down in New Orleans and became a respected merchant and mariner. Unfortunately, however, it is necessary to add that in 1819 the fever for the old life regained possession of him. Taking with him many of his old associates, who had remained in his employ, he went to Galveston, with several vessels. The Mexican governor gave him a privateer's commission, but he did not confine himself to the work he was supposed to do. He was known up and down the coast

as a pirate and smuggler. Later he became governor of Galveston, but his services in that capacity were brief. A United States war vessel was sent after him, and he escaped in one of his ships. This was overhauled and, according to one account, he was killed in the ensuing battle.

The year following that which witnessed the help given by Lafitte at New Orleans saw also a triumph over pirates much farther away than the Gulf Coast, pirates who had made the commerce of the United States pay tribute for a generation. These were the pirates of the Barbary States of the north coast of Africa, who had taken advantage of frequent wars in many places to let it be known to the nations that their ships would be unmolested on condition of the payment of a tribute.

And the United States of America was among the tribute payers! It is difficult to imagine the possibility. When, following the successful issue of the War of the Revolution, ships flying the American flag appeared in the Mediterranean, the messengers of Algiers approached John Adams in London, and told him that, if our commerce was to be free from molestation when in Mediterranean waters, tribute must be paid in the amount of $600,000. For this amount, it was agreed, Algiers would keep hands off.

The proposition was turned down, and the pirates soon showed that they were in earnest. In 1784 a Boston schooner as well as a ship from Philadelphia was captured, with the twenty-one men on board who were destined to be sold into slavery.

When emissaries from John Adams in London conferred with the Dey of Algiers, they were told that the twenty-one men would be released on payment of $53,600,

plus a round sum for the expenses of their capture and their subsequent board and lodging. The sum was considered altogether too high, so negotiations were declared off.

So matters rested until the inauguration of George Washington in 1789. He tried to help the captive men, but his efforts came to nothing until, in 1793, more than one hundred more men from American ships were captured. Then there was concluded a treaty, not at the cannon's mouth, as many eager Americans would have liked, but by the payment of $642,500, the promise on our part of $21,000 annually, and the promise on the part of Algiers that our ships were to be let alone—unless we forgot to pay.

Then came a sad day—sad, that is, for the Pasha of Tripoli, another of the rulers of the Barbary Confederation. He sent word to the United States that he must have his share of the loot. Amazed and angered, Thomas Jefferson, who was then President, sent a fleet against Tripoli. The "war" which continued for three years, will ever live in the annals of America. The bravery of the men who boarded the pirate ships has been told with eagerness. When the old frigate *Philadelphia* was driven on the rocks, the pirates succeeded in capturing the vessel. This gave opportunity for perhaps the bravest deed of the war, when Lieutenant Stephen Decatur sailed into the jaws of death in a little sailing vessel and succeeded in setting fire to the captured frigate.

Finally, in 1805, the ruler of Tripoli agreed to sign the treaty demanded by the United States.

But in seven years there was more trouble. This time it was the Dey of Algiers who offended. He, too, wanted unearned money from the United States, so, in 1812, he

sent out and captured a ship flying the Stars and Stripes. The result was not what he had hoped. American war vessels were sent to Algiers bearing Commodore Bainbridge and Stephen Decatur, to say nothing of men who were ready to die for their country's honor.

The chief vessels of the Dey were taken. The demand was made for a treaty which would provide definitely that no tribute should be paid to Algiers, and when the Dey understood the penalty of failure to make the treaty would be disastrous, he complied—on the deck of an American man of war.

The American fleet departed and the Dey's fleet returned from its piratical cruise. Its presence gave the despot courage, and he prepared and sent to "the honorable James Madison, Emperor of America," a remarkable paper in which he denounced the new treaty and declared his purpose to renew the treaty made twenty years before, on terms of payment as stipulated there.

Before this precious document, dated April 24, 1815, was very old, a British fleet appeared before Algiers, determined to wreak vengeance on the Dey for daring to imprison the British consul. The bombardment of Algiers that followed speedily brought the Dey to his senses and he was glad to sign a treaty which renewed that so recently denounced.

A few years later came America's final prolonged experience with pirates. From 1821 to 1832 there was much difficulty with freebooters in West Indian waters and in the Gulf of Mexico. In the period between 1821 and 1823 the number of vessels captured was thirty-seven, and in later years shipowners knew so much anxiety and difficulty in sending their vessels from port to port that

more than one memorial to Congress, asking relief, was sent.

The most redoubtable leader of the pirates of this later day was Gasparilla, who made his headquarters on the island Boca Grande, on the west coast of Florida. The pirate's real name was José Gaspar, but he was proud to be known as "Gasparilla," or "Gasparilla, the outlaw." As a young man he was in high favor at the court of Spain, but when he abused confidence by making way with valuable jewels, he stole one of the best vessels of the fleet and fled to sea. This was in 1782.

At once he began reprisals on Spanish commerce. Finding his way to the Gulf Coast, he sought Charlotte Harbor, where he built a semicircle of twelve palmetto houses, near the beach. Farther up the beach he had a burying-ground, where the bones of some of his men and of some of his unfortunate captives have been found. On the island Cayopelean, not far away, he built a tower where a man was always peering out over the water, in search of possible prizes. On another island, which he named for himself, he built a house, and there he lived in barbaric splendor.

Some historians of the later life of Lafitte, hero of the battle of New Orleans, say that he was attracted by the fame of this self-styled king of the pirates, and that he joined forces with him.

One of the notable prizes made by Gasparilla was the ship *Orleans* of Philadelphia, which was robbed in September, 1821. Many of the men of the *Orleans* joined the pirate band, probably to save their lives.

One of the passengers on the *Orleans* was a United States naval officer. To him Gasparilla wrote a bold letter:

"At Sea, and in Good Luck

"Sir:

"Between buccaneers, no ceremony; I take your dry goods, and, in return, I send you pimento! therefore we are now even. I entertain no resentment.

"Bid good-day to the officer of the United States, and tell him that I appreciate the energy with which he has spoken of us and my companions in arms. Nothing to intimidate us; we run the same fortune, and our maxim is that 'the goods of the world belong to the strong and the valiant.'

"The occupation of Florida is a pledge that the course I follow is comparable to the policy pursued by the United States.

(Signed) "Richard Coeur de Lion."

A story of one of Gasparilla's exploits and of the termination of his career was told to two census-takers who, in 1900, stopped at the house of John Gomez, on Panther Bay, who died that very year, at the age of 120.

Gomez, who was Gasparilla's brother-in-law, recounted the details of the capture of a Spanish princess, who, after a visit to Mexico, was returning home with eleven Mexican women. These women were to be educated in Spain. But they were never heard from by their friends, for, when their vessel was about fifty miles from Boca Grande, Gasparilla took it, killed the crew, appropriated the gold treasure on board, and took the twelve women captive to the pirate village at Charlotte Harbor. The princess resisted, and was beheaded.

In 1821, after two years of war on the pirates by the United States, Gasparilla thought he had better quit his meanness and enjoy his fortune of millions. But he could not resist the temptation for a last haul which offered

when he saw, off Boca Grande, what seemed to be an English vessel. With Lafitte as his chief helper, he stole up on the victim, only to see the Stars and Stripes take the place of the English flag. Gasparilla tried to escape in a small boat, but when he saw that capture was sure, he wrapped a piece of anchor chain about his body and sank beneath the waters of the Gulf. While members of the crew were captured and hanged, Lafitte managed to escape, only to end his life disgracefully some years later.

It is said that the wreck of Gasparilla's vessel could be seen for many years on the shore of Gasparilla Island, and that it lies there to-day, buried deep in the sand.

A visible memorial of one of the last of the pirates is the annual celebration of the festival of "Gasparilla Krewe," with which Tampa, Florida, fascinates winter visitors who are not loath to come in touch with the pirates of other days through the medium of mock pirates who can do them no harm.

DECATUR'S CONFLICT WITH THE ALGERIANS AT TRIPOLI
(From an Old Print) (See page 242)

THE DUELLING OAKS, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA (See page 247)

CHAPTER XII

"ON THE FIELD OF HONOR"

VISITORS to the beautiful City Park in New Orleans who look with delight on two graceful trees which are still known as "The Duelling Oaks," find it difficult to believe that for a long period there were many who thought that appeal to the code duello was the only gentlemanly way of solving difficulties that arose in connection with what they were pleased to call honor. But when they find, in other localities, not only in the South, but in the East, sites which are shown by those who are steeped in the lore of the duels of the past, they begin to realize that this method of settling disputes was quite common, especially among men in public life and officers of the army and navy.

While some sanguinary conflicts of this character took place at an earlier date, the majority of them were staged during the first third of the nineteenth century. In 1824 the Philadelphia *City Register* gave an account of all the duels fought in the United States from 1801 to that date. The purpose was "to awake more attention to the widespread and overwhelming misery occasioned by duelling." Nearly one hundred combatants had been killed. Some thirty of those who fought were army officers, and perhaps as many were officers in the navy.

And all this was in the face of such common-sense statements as that bravely made by Benjamin Franklin:

"It is astounding that the modern practice of duelling

should continue so long. Formerly, when duels were used to determine lawsuits, from an opinion that Providence would, in every instance, favor truth and right with victory, they were excusable; at present, they decide nothing. A man says something which another man tells him is a lie; they fight; but whichever is killed, the point in dispute remains unsettled."

Alexander Skinner, a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army, once killed a man in a duel. But in later life, when he was challenged, he refused. And this is the reason he gave:

"Killing a fellow man does not become me, set apart as I am to take care of the sick of the world, and to do all in my power to prolong and not to destroy human life."

From Charleston, South Carolina, came a story that made many earnest men think. There was a duelling society in that city to which no one could belong unless he had fought a duel. The members, it is said, ranked according to the number of men they had killed. But one day the president of the club was mortally wounded in a duel. Before he died he summoned the members and charged them not only to disband, but to do all they could to put an end to what he called an atrocious system.

A brave example was set by Chief-Justice William Henry Drayton, of South Carolina, who, when challenged by General Charles Lee, a noted duellist, said he was not bound to sacrifice his public reputation and outrage public character merely to gratify General Lee in the line of his profession."

A rare broadside, dated at Washington, D. C., November 23, 1801, and preserved by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, tells of another man who refused to fight a duel, and the action of his challenger who "posted" him

for cowardice, in defiance of the law against such posting. Benjamin Grayson Orr, who had challenged Benjamin F. West, had not been satisfied by the acceptance he desired. So, in November, 1797, he wrote an open letter to Mr. West from Lexington, Kentucky:

"Your pretext to avoid a personal determination, is a pusillanimous subterfuge, and characteristic of the source from whence it flows. I shall therefore hold you up to the world as a *Calumniating Scoundrel* and a *Coward.*"

The broadside quoted the letter, and said:

"Four years ago the above was posted up in a Public Tavern in Lexington, Kentucky, where B. F. West resided. This he suffered with impunity; and yielded up his pretended honor, a sacrifice to his fears.

"Thus I was obliged to show the man in his true character, the author of malicious falsehood, and a mere Gasconade. Three days ago, with a view to heal his *blasted reputation,* he called on me to give him immediate satisfaction, without any previous intimation of his design, and the doubt arose as to the propriety of putting him on the footing of a *gentleman.* I yet agreed to meet him, fixing such a period as was indispensably necessary to provide for the maintenance of my family, in case of misfortune. This postponement by me, he affects to consider as cowardice, and has published accordingly.

"To *Men of honor* I thus venture an appeal—if this *single man* has taken four years, confessedly for the purpose of settling his affairs, preparatory to such an issue, was it not allowable in me to require one twelfth part of the time, and whether the odious epithets of *Poltroon, Scoundrel,* and *Coward* do not exclusively belong to *Him.*

"I further state, as a fact known to Colonel Orr, and Mr. Seitz of Kentucky, that said B. F. West, after receiv-

ing from me in 1797, such personal ill treatment, and my declaration to punish him for scandalous and infamous lies that he had been telling of me, proposed an amiable interview the next morning, in a letter, expressing his belief we might settle our differences—and that when the interview did take place, I found him armed with pistols, dirk and sword.

"That he then asked me to write such concessions as would satisfy me, which after amending in some unimportant parts, he agreed to sign, provided I would abstain from publishing them. This writing, thus amended, with all the papers, was left when the occurrences happened, and may yet be obtained.—But these facts I can establish."

This posting took place 180 years after the first duel on record in the Colonies. In 1621, two men in Plymouth, Massachusetts, both servants, fought with daggers; both survived to satisfy the sentence passed on them: "To have heads and feet tied together, and to lie there for twenty-four hours without food or drink." Fortunately for them, they were released after an hour of torture.

The first fatal duel in the United States took place in Boston, between Henry Phillips and Benjamin Woodbridge. Phillips was a brother-in-law of Henry Faneuil, donor of Faneuil Hall. Woodbridge, who was killed, found a resting-place in the old Granary Burying Ground, in the heart of Boston, under a stone which tells:

"Here Lyes Interred The Body of Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, Son of the Honorable Dudley Woodbridge, Esquire, Who Died July ye 3d, 1728, In ye 20th Year of His Age."

In 1777 Button Gwinnett, member of Congress from Georgia, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, fought Lackland McIntosh, an officer in the Army of the

HAMILTON GRANGE, NEW YORK CITY

(From this House Alexander Hamilton Went to Fight His Duel with Aaron Burr) (See page 253)

A DUEL THREATENS BECAUSE OF A CHICKEN

LIKE MASTER, LIKE MAN

(Illustrations from "God's Revenge Against Duelling") (See page 254)

Revolution. The fight took place near Savannah, the weapons being pistols. Pistols were also used by Major-General Charles Lee and Colonel John Laurence, aide-de-camp to General Washington, who fought in Philadelphia in 1778. As a result Lee was wounded, but he lived to make the challenge to Justice Drayton, which was so well refused, as has been stated.

An old book tells of a meeting on the field of honor in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1792. John Thurston was the challenger, and his victim was John Harrison, who was a connection of the family later famous in national politics. Thurston's second was Robert Breckenridge, who had been a member of the convention which framed the United States Constitution, and was the first speaker of the House of Representatives. The cause, as will appear, was pitifully small.

When the men met, the agreed distance, sixty yards, was paced off. Then Breckenridge won the toss and was supposed to give the word to fire. Instead, however, of saying what was expected of him, he asked Sullivan, Harrison's second, a plain farmer, what he thought of the duel. "What do you think?" the question was thrown back. So Breckenridge said that he feared the world would wonder how two such prominent men could have been hurried into a duel over twelve and a half cents. To this Sullivan replied, "The world would say that they had slain one another for ninepence."

Breckenridge proposed that the principals be given the opportunity to reconcile their differences. The appeal was made to them by Breckenridge, and Sullivan chimed in, "Them's my sentiments. The Bargrave people, where Squire Thurston lives, will swear he fit for twelve an' a half cents; and the bad town boys, where Squire Harrison

lives, when he runs them out of his watermillion patch, will call him 'an old fightin' ninepence.' I like a hot fight better than a hot toddy on a cold night, but I hate a bad fight worse than a nest of yaller-jackets. There ain't no good in the fight, and I don't like the weapons, neither. Pistols is all right for Injuns and b'ars, but they are awful things turned against friends. . . . I propose that we end up the fight with a shootin' match. Our side ag'in' your side will shoot at a tree the size of a man, at sixty yards, at the word, and the shot nearest the center wins."

What was there for the duellists to do but to laugh, make up, and become good friends?

Stephen Decatur, when a lieutenant, fought a duel at New Castle, on the Delaware River. In 1799 he was recruiting officer in Philadelphia, seeking enlisted men for the navy. A party of his enlisted men were taken aboard a merchantman, and when he demanded them he was not given satisfaction. So he challenged the officer of the ship to fight a duel. In this Decatur was victor, but, fortunately, the officer was merely wounded.

Twenty-one years later Decatur fought another duel—this time with an officer in the navy who had been suspended from the service because of neglect of his duty as commander of the *Chesapeake*. The cause of discord was that, when he applied for restoration of rank, Decatur—who, as an officer on the frigate, had known of the fault—opposed his reinstatement. When they fought, both men were wounded. Decatur died of his wounds, and was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, Philadelphia.

Decatur's first duel was followed within three years by a contest between Philip Hamilton, the promising eighteen-year-old son of Alexander Hamilton. The challenge followed an oration on July 4, 1801, when bitter words were

spoken of the young man's father. Later, when the insult was repeated, Philip Hamilton sent a challenge to the traducer. They met on January 10, 1802, at Weehawken, New Jersey, and fought at twelve paces. The result was the wounding of the challenger, who died within twenty hours.

During the same year occurred the duel between De Witt Clinton and the Honorable John Swartwout, which was due to the unfortunate political differences that had led to the first Hamilton duel, and was—in 1804—to be responsible for the awful tragedy in which Alexander Hamilton and Vice-President Aaron Burr were the actors.

Burr challenged Hamilton because he refused to denounce a statement, made in a pamphlet, that "General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr opinions still more despicable" than a previous accusation that Burr was a dangerous man and one unfit to be intrusted with the reins of government.

While Hamilton admitted the first statement, he declared that the demand was "too indefinite"; it called upon him to retrace every conversation which he had held either publicly or confidentially, in the course of fifteen years' opposition, and to contradict that which, very possibly, had escaped his memory.

On July 13 the two men met on the field of honor. That morning Hamilton set out as usual from his home, the Grange, New York City, as if bound for his office in the city; he did not wish Mrs. Hamilton to know of the impending duel.

But by noon Mrs. Hamilton was at the bedside of her husband, summoned there when he had been brought from Weehawken, New Jersey, mortally wounded.

After his lamented death there were put in her hands two letters. In these he told of his purpose to permit his antagonist to shoot him:

"The scruples of a Christian have determined me to expose my own life to any extent rather than subject myself to the guilt of taking the life of another. This much increases my hazard. . . .

"If it had been possible to have avoided the interview, my love for you and my precious children would have been alone a decisive motive. But it was not possible, without sacrifices which would have rendered me unworthy of your esteem."

The death of Hamilton was a great loss to the country. But that duel was not without benefit. There was such a popular outcry against the duel that—although it survived for many years—the beginning of the end was seen by many thoughtful people.

One of the signs of the times was the sermon preached by Parson Weems, the biographer of George Washington, who was responsible for the cherry-tree story. The sermon he called "God's Revenge Against Duelling." In this he spoke some bitter truths most plainly:

"Duellists have always had the modesty to palm themselves upon the world as the very choicest men in it. Oh, yes, to be sure! They are the only brave, the only honorable, the only magnanimous and heroic, and the dear knows what else besides, of sublime and beautiful in sentiment and action."

In the course of the address, the author told of a duel between negroes, servants of duelling masters. "Like master, like man!" was his comment.

"Can any young man be so blind and wicked as to

Murder another and call it *honor?*" he asked. "Honor, as Washington used to say, is

"Not to be captious, nor unjustly fight,
But to scorn what is wrong, and do what is right.

"And can Satan have so blinded your eyes and hardened your hearts, O ye duellists, that you can without remorse visit such woes upon the innocent, and yet call it *honor?* Let the midnight savage talk of honor, who creeps up to the bedside of sleeping age, and buries his tomahawk in the quivering brain—let the dark assassin talk of honor, who steals upon the slumber of a mother and her infants sleeping around her, and cuts their throats. Yes, let the bloody inquisitor talk of honor, as, straining the poor heretic on the rack, he breaks his bones and bursts his veins with torture, grinning infernal pleasure all the while at his piercing cries and distracted eyeballs starting from the sockets. Yes, let them talk of honor: these who in mercy, strike only at the body, dispatching at once the untortured soul to perfect rest. But what right have you, O dullards, to talk of *Honor,* you who will not in mercy tomahawk the silver-haired sire, whose only remaining joy is his ruddy-faced son, but you can murder that son? You would not in pity kill the sleeping mother and her babe, but you will kill the sole delight and dependence, the loving husband and father. . . ."

But before public opinion prepared the way for such a message, other battles were fought by famous men. General Andrew Jackson fought Charles Dickinson, at Adairville, Tennessee, because Dickinson was charged with saying something against the character of Mrs. Jackson. Dickinson died from a pistol wound inflicted by his opponent, and Jackson suffered from broken ribs.

More effective than the duel in honoring Mrs. Jackson was the inscription the General placed on her tomb after her death:

"Her face was fair, her person pleasing, her temper amiable, her heart kind. She delighted in relieving the wants of her fellow-creatures, and cultivated that divine pleasure by the most liberal and unpretending methods; to the rich an example, to the wretched a comforter, to the prosperous an ornament; her pity went hand in hand with her benevolence, and she thanked her Creator for being permitted to do good. A being so gentle and so virtuous slander might wound, but could not dishonor. Even Death, who has borne her from the arms of her husband, could but transport her to the bosom of her God."

A challenge of 1807, issued by one famous man to another public character, did not lead to an encounter. General John Wilkinson challenged John Randolph, member of Congress from Virginia, but the duel was declined, in a note that gave a searing message:

"In you, sir, I can recognize no right to hold me accountable for my public or private opinion of your character that would not subject me to an equal claim from Colonel Burr. I cannot descend to your level. This is my final answer."

To this Colonel Wilkinson answered:

"I have received your letter . . . in which you violate truth and honor to indulge the inherent malignity and rancor of your soul. On what level, pray, sir, shall we find the wretch who, to mask his Cowardice, fabricates falsehoods, and heaps unprovoked insults upon unmerited injuries? You cannot *descend* to my level!—vain, equivocal thing! And you believe this dastardly subterfuge will

avail you, or that your lion's skin will longer conceal your true character? Embrace the alternative still in your reach, and ascend to the level of a gentleman, if possible; act like a man, if you can . . ."

No notice was taken of this diatribe. So the challenger took a futile revenge. When Congress met, every tavern and street corner in Washington bore the notice:

"HECTOR UNMASKED. In justice to my character I denounce to the world John Randolph, a member of Congress, as a prevaricating, base, calumniating scoundrel, poltroon and coward."

A comparatively small matter led to a duel in 1826. General Sam Houston, member of Congress from Nashville, Tennessee, and General White, met near Franklin, Tennessee. The difficulty arose from the mailing by Houston of pamphlets addressed to some of his constituents. When these did not reach them, he accused Postmaster Curry of Nashville of carelessness; more, he called him a scoundrel. The postmaster challenged the Congressman, but the Congressman refused to receive a challenge from what he called a contemptible source. So one of the postmaster's friends sent a challenge which was accepted. The battle was fought with pistols, at fifteen feet, and White was dangerously wounded.

It is not strange that a traveler from England, after studying conditions in America, wrote:

"America is the country where life is held cheaper than anywhere else. There, duels or 'difficulties' are offhand diversions. But, when men fight in the States they fight in earnest. 'Killing is the word.' Revolvers are ever revolving. There is no objection to fowling-pieces, to rifles, to bowie knives . . . In the hotels at Washington and elsewhere, you may see the marks of bullets on the

walls, shots that missed, fortunately, or that went through, a man, leaving him dead on the floor."

One by one the states made unpopular or put an end to a practice that could give excuse for such statements. Pennsylvania's law was passed in 1806. In Louisiana, in 1834, it was proposed to have a Court of Honor, which should decide on differences that once would have led to duels.

In 1835 the legislature of Mississippi said that the survivor in a duel should pay the debts of his victim.

Virginia required public officers to take oath that they had never fought a duel. Many years later an attempt was made to make eligible to office men who had been engaged in affairs of honor, because two men who had been wounded in duels wished to run for office. The legislature declined to do as they wished.

In 1838 a law was proposed to forbid duelling in the District of Columbia. The bill was opposed by Senator Thomas Clayton of Delaware, who declared that duelling was "not of that class of crimes which should subject offenders to the cells of a penitentiary and make them the associates of felons." But Henry Clay, who favored the bill, said:

"The man with a high sense of honor and nice sensibility, when the question is whether he shall fight or have the finger of scorn pointed at him, is unable to resist; and few, very few, are found willing to adopt such an alternative. When public opinion is renovated and chastened by reason, religion, and humanity, the practice of duelling will be discontinued. It is the office of legislation, however, to do all it can to bring about this healthful state of the public mind; and although it might not altogether effect

so desirable a result, I have no doubt it will do much toward it, and I shall give my vote for the bill."

The passage of the bill for which Henry Clay voted did not end duelling. For many years there were further conflicts on "the field of honor." But they became less as decade succeeded decade, and at last came the day when public opinion as well as law looked on the man who killed his antagonist in a duel as a murderer, who merited the punishment of the manslayer.

CHAPTER XIII

IN THE DAYS OF CANALS

DURING the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first years of the nineteenth century American business men were asking themselves such questions as the following:

"How will it be possible to foster trade within the bounds of the states?

"How are we to provide avenues of trade with other sections of the country, so as to preserve leadership and foster growth in our own territory?

"How are the regions beyond the difficult Appalachian and Allegheny Mountains to be reached by thousands who will be turning westward for homes?"

George Washington was one of the first of these far-seeing men. Even before the treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed, he was busy with plans for the development of the country. Once he wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette:

"I have it in contemplation to make a tour thro' all the Eastern States, thence into Canada, thence up the St. Lawrence and thro' the lakes to Detroit, thence to Lake Michigan by land and water, thence thro' the Western Country, by the river Illinois to the river Mississippi; and down the same to New Orleans, thence to Georgia by the way of Pensacola, and then thro' the two Carolinas home. A good tour you will say."

One of the objects he had in mind was to study the

country with a view to possible improvement of rivers for slack-water navigation, and the construction of canals where such navigation was impossible. He was not able to go on the extended trip of which he wrote, but he did make a number of shorter journeys. These opened his eyes still more to the necessity and the possibility of water connections.

Once he wrote to a friend:

"I could not help taking a more contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, from maps and the information of others; and could not but be struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it, and with the goodness of that Providence, which has dealt his favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them."

The dream of the first American took form during the years between his resignation as Commander-in-chief of the army, and the beginning of his first term as President. In 1785 he was chairman of the meeting at which was organized the Patowmack Canal Company, christened by the General Assembly of Maryland. The purpose of the company was to make easy the navigation of the Potomac, in spite of falls and other barriers. In 1802 the locks at Great Falls of the Potomac were opened for business, and for twenty-eight years they were in use. The volume of trade and the receipts from tolls were large. Many visitors from far and near came to see the greatest American engineering achievement of the times.

All went so well that the company grew ambitious, and began the improvement of the Shenandoah, the Monocacy, and the Antietam. Then difficulties began, and the Patowmack Company fell on evil days. Lotteries were resorted

to for the raising of funds, and there were disputes and lawsuits about the drawings. Debts hindered the progress of the work. The demand for the improvement of the rivers continued, and the use of the canals completed became larger year by year, but the company was not able to meet the claims upon it.

Then came the end. In 1828 the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company took over the property of the Patowmack Company, and continued the development of their own plans.

Some years before the opening of the locks at Great Falls, and near the close of Washington's second term as President, "Robert Fulton, Civil Engineer," another of the notable canal dreamers of early days, prepared an ambitious "Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation." This was published in London in 1796. A copy was sent to his friend, George Washington, whom he knew as the foremost advocate of canal navigation in the United States. This volume, bearing the signature of Washington, is one of the treasures of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The volume is devoted to a full description of Fulton's Scheme for Improving Inland Navigation by means of Inclined Planes. It was illustrated by many plates carefully drawn by the engineer author, and was prefaced by a favorable report on his invention, signed by the Board of Agriculture.

On the blank leaves in the beginning of the book appeared a letter "To his Excellency, George Washington, President of the American States." This read:

"By my friend Dr. Edwards I beg leave to present you with this publication, which I hope will be honored with your Perusal at a Leisure hour; The object of which

is to Exhibit the Certain Mode of Giving Agriculture to every Acre of the emmense Continent of America, By Means of a creative System of Canals; When the Subject first entered my thoughts, I had no idea of its Consequence. But the scene Gradually open'd and at length exhibited the most extensive and pleasing prospect of Improvement, hence I Now Consider it of much Material Importance; and View it like the application of these particular principles which produce certain effects:

"Thus the discovery of the Mariner's Compass Gave Commerce to the World;

"The Invention of Printing in dissipating darkness and giving a Polish to the Mass of Men.

"And the Introduction of the Creative System of Canals as certain in their Effects, will give an agricultural Polish to every Acre of America.

"I therefore Beg leave to Submit to your Contemplation the Last chapter with the Supplement, which exhibits the Specific System for America. And hoping that your Excellence's Sanction will awake the Public attention to the Subject. . . ."

The most remarkable portion of the book is the supplementary chapter, written on the closing fly leaves, for the eye of Washington. In this he proposed an ingenious scheme for combining canals and roads. The towpaths of the canals were to be made "sufficiently wide for a Road," to be used by horsemen and light carriages. The advantage of such a combination would be apparent: by the canal it would be easy to "convey material to mend the road, at little expense." Then, in winter, when the canal is frozen, the road would be open. "And as the Inns would be on the banks of the canals the Inhabitants would hear of the various Travelers, the state of the

Stages of Canal; and the Travelers might take either the Canal or Road, whatever the weather and his Time rendered most Convenient, and then he would be accommodated with an easy passage through the country."

The mind of the man of vision dwelt on the day when the whole country would be covered with canals. There would be so many, and the income would be so great, that the proceeds might be used for "paying the expenses of government, building seminaries for education, or erecting academies for promoting Scientific Knowledge."

The vision made Fulton enthusiastic. He declared that "the Comprehensive mind" would "view as it were, a Vast Body full of health and Vigor fed by its Million Veins." The veins were the rivers, which should be made to perform "an Infinite Office in facilitating the Labors of Men ere they descend into Mother Ocean."

But carriage would not be the only advantage derived from canals. These would be irrigating and watering lands; working machinery; and watering cities and towns. The water would thrash wheat, winnow corn, cut straw, clean hemp and flax, grind apples, mash turnips. "In the department of Women it might assist in Washing and be of Much use in Churning of which the Labor would be considerable—the System of Irrigation would produce immense Dairies."

The chapter to Washington closed:

"And America rendered like a continual Garden of which every acre would maintain its man. . . . Then when I contemplate the hive of Industry and muse on a Scene of National Improvement by domestic application, I cannot Resist calling on Common Sense to Testify how Infinitely Superior it is to the Furo of Conquest which

enervates Society, In a mad contest for additional Acres, While those in possession Lie Waste and Unimproved."

In the early literature of canals there is nothing to compare with the vision of Fulton, unless it be the papers transmitted anonymously to the legislature of New York in 1816, in which the plea was made for the immediate construction of the Erie Canal from Albany to Buffalo, thus competing with transportation from New York City to the Great Lakes. The argument showed how one of the greatest impulses to canal building was the fear of one community lest its neighbor gain a trade advantage over it. Read the tremendous list of advantages to be won by the Erie Canal, noting the thirty-one "ifs" which the pamphleteer piled on one another as if he were speaking an impassioned oration, and see how aroused the country was on the subject of canals, as a panacea for all ills and an open sesame to boundless wealth. This was a part of the argument:

"If it would certainly receive the trade of Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Ontario, Genesee, Niagara, Chautauqua, and Cattaraugus, from Montreal, and secure it to Albany and New York; if the present annual surplus produce of that country be equal in value to 3,700,000 bushels of wheat, or 5,000,000 dollars; if it would convert the lumber of Cayuga and Onondaga from an incumbrance to the land, into a revenue for the country, and saving to the cities of Albany and New York; if it would make New York the fountain of supply to that country, of foreign merchandize; if it would diminish the cost of salt; . . . if it would enable the gypsum of the west to supersede that of Nova Scotia, and supply the valuable counties on the Hudson at one half its present price; if it would facilitate building, manuring the details of agricultural life;

if it would probably secure the trade of 64,000,000 acres, bordering on the western lakes; if it would probably secure at present the fur trade; if the period must arrive when the value of the annual surplus produce of the country will be 128,000,000 bushels of wheat, or 192,000,000 dollars; if it would probably enable New York to supply it for a century to come, with foreign commodities; if New York would be the market, at once nearest, cheapest, and easiest of access; if that city would undersell Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New Orleans, and Pittsburgh and Louisville; if it would probably secure the hemp trade of Kentucky; if it would facilitate the competition from the lead mines of Louisiana; if by irrigation it would yield a revenue, while it enriched the soil; if it would furnish wharves and mill sites, and accommodate manufacturing establishments, while it yielded a revenue; if its manure will enrich the adjoining county; if it would enhance turnpike stock, and improve roads; if it would form a body of civil engineers; if it would increase national revenues, and enhance the political influence of the State; if it would be an instrument to avoid intestine commotion; if it would promote the diffusion of religion; if the supply of water would be permanent, open and adequate; if it require no tunnel, no reservoir, no embankment, and but one large aqueduct; if the country be peculiarly propitious for canalling; if materials are near and abundant; if it would not enhance the price of labor, nor disturb the existing condition of things; if experience in England and the country countenance the opinion that the cost would be much less than the lowest estimate made by the Commissioners; if the work can certainly be achieved for an actual advance of 1,500,000 dollars; if that advance would only be required in annual installments of 130,000 dollars; if the

resources of the state would be neither cramped nor absorbed; if delay seems only to nurture opposition and diminish facility—The Moment is Arrived."

Then, as if this was not enough, the writer of the pamphlet went on:

"The voice of Reason; the voice of Religion; the voice of your Fellow Citizens, tells you it is arrived. Your tables are groaning beneath the weight of Petitions. You are called upon to act with prudent firmness; to conciliate popular sentiment by legislative wisdom, and to ordain that the Canal be made."

Five years before the long list of "ifs" was sent to the legislature, a commission on which Gouverneur Morris and De Witt Clinton served as members reported that the time was ripe to provide a means of transportation that would secure for New York trade it might lose since "the eyes of a rich, enterprising commercial rival are open," and they would be apt to use all the means in their power to win for themselves the prize that belonged by right to New York. The cost of the big ditch from Albany to Buffalo would be small, since "it may be assumed that laborers ought to dig and remove to a considerable distance, eight cubic yards per day." The cost would therefore be the eighth of a dollar per cubic yard, $4,000 a mile, or a total of $1,200,000. Locks and feeders would add to the expense, but it would not be much more than three million dollars.

On February 22, 1814, Robert Fulton wrote to Gouverneur Morris concerning the investment proposed:

"The great work would, as a lucrative speculation, for a company of subscribers, be superior to any banking association or incorporated body now known, and in every way is worthy of the great state." More, the canal would

be abundantly worth while because it would be a source of revenue, a means of strength by consolidating population, and "an immense object of real glory, a vast and noble example to our sister states."

As a concluding argument Fulton said:

"All that is left of the fame of Louis the XIVth is the canal of Languedock, and his public highways; his military conquests were lost before he died; his canal and roads alone remain as blessings to France."

At length the Erie Canal was built, though the cost was nearly ten million dollars. The builders found water-level almost all the way. "The canal followed the route of the Indians and the earlier traders," one historian has written of it, "straight up the valley of the Mohawk, from the head of navigation on the Hudson, and then by easy stages along the gentle plateau and just south of Ontario, all the way to Tonawanda, the upper Niagara River, and Buffalo." Then he pointed out that few of the young towns along the state road were upon its banks. "Indeed, it created a new line of connection—Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Lyons, and, west of Rochester, a list of 'ports,' Spencerport, Brockport, Middleport, Gasport, and Lockport."

Of course all these incipient communities were inherently interested in the work that was begun in 1817 and completed in 1825. One of them, the Village of Buffalo, sent to the legislature, in March, 1823, a protest "relative to the western terminus of the Grand Canal." The difficulty was with the dam to be built at the harbor at Black Rock. "Where is the necessity or policy, the wisdom, foresight, or sagacity, where the justice, the justification, apology, or extenuation, even for countenancing the 'dam project'?" the question was asked. The dam would mort-

gage the future of the canal. "Can the first legislature under our constitution," began a second question, "trifle with a work intended to be coexistent with its duration, and destined, perhaps, in the revolution of events, to survive it?" The answer was given emphatically and oratorically: "No. Never can they consistently with the duty they owe themselves, to their constituents, to the state, to the Republic, to succeeding generations, give the least color, sanction or encouragement to this pernicious project, this unwarrantable, this heathen speculation upon the public treasury."

The activities of the canal builders in New York and elsewhere were the signal for the setting loose of all sorts of chimerical schemes. One of these was described by Christopher Colles, in a pamphlet published in New York City in 1808. The idea of Colles was to erect navigable canals, "not dug into the soil, as in Europe, but built of timber entirely elevated above the ground." He wanted "the sides of the canals to be perpendicular, so that goods may be loaded and unloaded the whole way." There would be numerous advantages in the plan, while its one disadvantage would be the necessity for renewal from time to time. The statement of the disadvantage enabled Colles to come to the real motive for his suggestion, "Can it be called a defect which constitutes the necessity of employing multitudes of useful members of society?"

The fact that Colles was himself a carpenter took away from the force of his concluding words: "What further need be said? Ages and generations will pass away before expensive dug canals can be completed in this country."

But dug canals were completed. In 1825 the *Travelers' Guide to the United States* told of travel routes from

Philadelphia to Mount Carbon by the Schuylkill Navigation; from Philadelphia to Lebanon by the Schuylkill Navigation and the Union Canal; from Albany to Montreal and Quebec by the Champlain Canal; from New York to Falls of Niagara, by the Hudson River and Erie Canal. And in 1834 was published a *Brief Description of the Canals of the United States,* which told—in addition to small canals in many states—of the Middlesex Canal from Boston to Chelmsford, 27 miles; the Blackstone Canal, from Providence to Worcester, 45 miles, the Farmington Canal, from New Haven to Sheffield, 56 miles; the Erie Canal, from New York to Buffalo, 363 miles; the Champlain Canal, from Albany to Whitehall, 72 miles; the Hudson and Delaware Canal, 65 miles; the Lackawaxen Canal, in New York and Pennsylvania, 53 miles; the Oswego Canal, from Syracuse to Oswego, 38 miles; the Seneca Canal, connecting Seneca and Cayuga Lakes, 20 miles; the Delaware and Raritan Canal, from Bordentown to New Brunswick, 43 miles; the Morris Canal, from Jersey City to Easton, 101 miles; the canals from Columbia to Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, 171 miles, and from Johnstown, Pennsylvania, to the Monongahela River, 104 miles; the canal from Bristol, Pennsylvania, to Easton, 59 miles; a number of other canals in Pennsylvania, which made possible the navigation of shallow rivers; the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in Delaware, 13 miles; the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Maryland, of which 114 miles had been completed in 1834; the James River Canals in Virginia and the Santee Canal in South Carolina, completed in 1802, 27 miles; the La Fourche Canal in New Orleans, 88 miles; the Portsmouth and Cleveland Canal in Ohio, 307 miles; the

Miami Canal, from Cincinnati to Dayton, 68 miles, to be completed to Lake Erie, 265 miles.

Two years after the publication of the book in which this list was given, John Fairfield, Congressman from Maine, later Senator and Governor, wrote to his wife telling of a journey on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, successor to George Washington's Patowmack Canal:

"I returned from my excursion to Harpers Ferry last night, but not in season to write you. It was a great treat and afforded the most unbounded satisfaction to all who went, constituting about 60 members. . . . We were absent three days, and the whole treat was gratuitous, even to the passage in the hacks from here to Georgetown and back, that being the place from which the boats start. The distance is something over 60 miles, and is accomplished in a day, the canal boats being drawn by 3 horses and a part of the time by four. The topmost piece is a canvas awning, an open space constituting a long, commodious and comfortable dining hall. There were three other boats, the largest being what I have sketched, the others not so large and having no awnings. I kept in the larger boat, which afforded a fair opportunity of viewing the scenery in our progress up the coast, which was found to be really worth seeing. After getting up about ten or a dozen miles, we found the land rich, pretty well cultivated, and exhibiting some of the most beautiful landscapes that I have ever seen.

"In some places the Canal runs along the side of a mountain, there being say a precipice 100 feet high above us on our right, and 100 feet below us on our left. From Georgetown up there are 33 locks. . . . There were also several aqueducts, one vastly superior in every respect to

anything of the kind that I have ever seen. It carries the Canal over the river Manocasin (I'm not sure that I spell it right). It is about 500 feet long, and has 7 arches. It is built of large square blocks of a very white kind of marble. It is a noble specimen of man's work.

"The scenery grows more sublime as you approach Harpers Ferry and when you get there it is truly wild."

It is diverting to read descriptions of travel by swift canal boat—the speed was from three to five miles an hour—as given by Harriet Martineau, by Captain Basil Hall, or by Charles Dickens in his American Notes. Passengers must have had deliriously exciting times as they moved through the country—getting off to walk when they felt the need of a rest.

As the West grew, the canal fever extended to the new states. As indicated by the list of canals already given, Ohio was an ambitious follower of New York and Pennsylvania in the program for artificial waterways. Some of them were most helpful in caring for the commerce of the states in early days. But the time came when such waterways were out of date. In 1835 the Sandy and Beaver Canal was begun, to the sorrow of stockholders, who lost two million dollars. Though it was operated, partially, as late as 1850, it was never a success, and was finally abandoned. It is said that but one boat ever made the entire passage through it, and that this was sent through by the contractors, that they might thus fulfill the conditions of construction.

Indiana, too, had a trying experience with canals. And Illinois spent many years in regrets that she had been led into canal extravagance. Her first venture was the waterway connecting Lake Michigan with the Illinois River,

talked of for years before the grant by Congress, in 1822, of a right of way across public lands. In 1827 the grant was increased to include alternate sections of land five miles wide on each side of the canal, the proceeds from sales to be applied to the costs of construction. But not until 1836 was actual work begun. On July 4 the whole village of Chicago "went up to Bridgeport on a small steamer which towed two schooners. As the flotilla passed, a crowd of men on the bank of the river stoned the steamer, breaking cabin windows and injuring several passengers. They desisted only when men from the steamer jumped ashore and chased them. Thus they showed the antagonism to canals felt by many people in all parts of the country—antagonism as unreasoning as that of farmers in Pennsylvania and New York, who tried to postpone the advance of railroads because they would no longer be able to make large profits by selling provender to canal horses.

But the railroads came, and the canals passed away—all but a few, like the canal from Bristol to Easton, or that across New Jersey, or the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, on which primitive boats still glide slowly along behind the patient animals on the towpath. Of course there is the Erie Canal, too, but that has been transformed into a channel for barges, in consequence of the dreams of those who have pictured results that to some seem possible while to others they seem as fantastic as the dreams of Robert Fulton and his fellow advocates of canals that would bring benefits to the country for untold ages.

How could these men have been expected to foresee the day of the railroad, and to realize that the fever for canal improvement would be so financially exhausting as

to make difficult the early days of railroad construction? This was especially true in Illinois, where repudiation of the state debt, long feared, was averted only by the most careful statesmanship, and where the last of the canal debt was not paid until May, 1871!

CHAPTER XIV

ACRES BY THE MILLION

THE kings of England who fixed the bounds of the American Colonies set an example of prodigality in bestowing the lands of the New World. In fact, they were so generous, so carelessly generous, in playing with what they seemed to think the boundless leagues at their disposal, that they paved the way for disputes between Colonies, because of overlapping boundaries, that rankled for generations.

But those who received the first grants were not so free. The early records of the Colonies show that holdings were usually small and were carefully made. In parts of Connecticut, for instance, at one time, the holdings granted to actual settlers reverted to the Colony in case these were no longer required; they could not be sold. And in Pennsylvania William Penn and his successors cannily refused to alienate lands entirely, holding on to a vexatious ground rent that led to dissatisfaction for generations. Even to-day the relics of the old system are evident; the papers, in telling of sales of property in old Philadelphia, frequently give, after the price, the statement, "subject to an irredeemable ground rent."

The first advertisement of land for sale to appear in the *American Weekly Mercury* of May 5, 1720, told of one of the typical small holdings—small, at least, in comparison with some of the princely estates that characterized the years when the people began to move back from the

seacoast. The advertiser offered the former estate of Thomas Holme, William Penn's surveyor-general, who laid out Philadelphia—a five-hundred-acre plantation, near "Pennepeck Creek." The advertisement is of special interest because Holme was buried near by, and his neglected grave may still be seen by those who struggle back from the Bristol Pike into the thicket which hides the gravestone.

Another small landholder, who settled in early days in eastern Pennsylvania, left a curious letter in which he tells his old friends in Ireland that the man who said he was not satisfied was an "Idle Fellow . . . rather a Lyar as I may term him." He said there was not one of the family "but what likes the country very well and Wood If he was in Ireland again come here Directly, it being the best Country for working folk and tradesmen of any in the world, but for Drunkards and Idlers, they cannot live well anywhere."

When the writer sought land, he found it at all prices, "Even from ten Pounds to one hundred pounds a hundred acres according to the goodness, or else the Situation thereof." But he was not easily suited; he hesitated for a long time before finding 500 acres for which he paid £350. The tract he secured was "Excellent good land, but none cleared, Except about twenty acres, with a small log house and orchard planted."

The usual method of disposing of lands sometimes proved too slow. The Penns attempted to solve the difficulty. They advertised July 12, 1735, "100,000 acres of land in the Province of Pennsylvania," indicating that a proposal had been made to them to dispose of the land by lottery. The reasons given for acquiescence were: "The same tends to cultivate and improve the lands, and

CANAL BOAT SCENE AS DESCRIBED BY CHARLES DICKENS

ON AN OLD TOWPATH

CARRYING CANAL BOATS OVER THE ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS ON A PORTAGE RAILWAY, PENNSYLVANIA

consequently increase the Trade and Riches of the Province; and also considering Many Families who, through Inadvertency, settled on Lots to which they have no right." It was pointed out that these unfortunates, by becoming Adventurers in such a Lottery, would have an opportunity of securing the lands at an easier rate.

The capital prize was to be 3,000 acres; 720 tickets drawn would call for 25 acres each. The lands were to be laid out anywhere in the province, where were areas otherwise unprovided for.

The men who talked of land in such lavish terms were not satisfied with territory already theirs by reason of former treaties with the Indians; they wanted more. So they looked longingly to the territory north of the Pocono Mountains.

The Leni Lenapes, who claimed the country for which the heirs of William Penn were eager, made a treaty with the "Proprietors of Pennsylvania," ceding additional lands from the Delaware in lower Bucks County to the most westerly branch of the Neshaminy, thence "as far as a man can go in a day and a half," and from the point so indicated to the river Delaware once more.

The Indians thought that the ground would be covered in the good old way adopted by William Penn in 1682, when he walked leisurely in company with Indians and friends. After the Indian fashion, they would sit down frequently, to smoke or to eat. In a day and a half a distance of less than thirty miles had been covered.

So the Indians were sure the Lehigh River would mark the northern end of the walk that was to determine the limits of the purchase. They did not dream that the stream would be crossed before the trip was much more than begun.

For Thomas and John Penn prepared for what they thought of as a contest by advertising for fast walkers. They promised a rich prize to the man who should make the farthest point in a day and a half. Three men volunteered—Solomon Jennings, James Yates, and Edward Marshall.

These men practiced walking for the occasion, and the way was cleared for them through the wilderness beyond the Lehigh.

The start was made from Wrightstown. The men took their station at the spot marked to-day by a monument to their prowess. Edward Marshall was determined to outwalk the others, and he carried a hatchet in his hands, that he might swing it from side to side, and so balance the action of his legs. As he hoped to do, he succeeded in passing both of his companions by the time he crossed the Lehigh. There was a halt of fifteen minutes for dinner, which was carried by a man on horseback. At the Wind Gap—an odd break in the mountains—he was given a compass, since from that point the trail had not been blazed for him.

Progress was continued the second day until two o'clock in the afternoon. By this time, Marshall, having passed to the right of the Pocono Mountains, reached the limit of his progress, completely exhausted. The Indians who followed him the second day found it difficult to keep him in sight. When the tree was marked to indicate the spot reached, the Indians sadly witnessed the mark.

The distance covered was more than one hundred and ten miles. But the cunning of the purchasers of the Indian lands was not yet at an end. Instead of running a line to the Delaware at the nearest point, they ran it at right angles to the walk. The line reached the Delaware at

the mouth of Lackawaxen Creek. Thus the Indians were called upon to yield practically all of their lands in the Delaware within the bounds of Pennsylvania.

When, later, the surveyor-general and others passed over the ground, they were four days in covering Marshall's route. No wonder the Indians were enraged. It is said that their treatment on this occasion led to their siding against the English in the French and Indian war. Their feelings were indicated by one of their number, who said of the "walk," "No sit down to smoke, no shoot a squirrel, but lun, lun, lun, all day long."

An old document, signed by Timothy Smith, gave another chapter in the story of the Walking Purchase. It reads:

"Received of James Stuart Ten Pounds to be paid equally to James Yeats and Edward Marshall for walking the day and a half on the Indian Purchase in Bucks county, also an English half crown for E. Marshall for his good performance of the journey."

It is safe to say that those who profited by the Walking Purchase were more careful in parceling out their ill-gotten gains than they were in dealing with the original proprietors. Yet the provisions made for the disposal of lands in Pennsylvania, in early days, were not so carefully framed as they might have been.

Even as late as 1801, long after the days of the Proprietors, the secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania called attention to the fact that the laws did not authorize any particular form of entry or proof, in the case of actual settlers, before warranty. For this reason the commissioner thought it wise to broadcast a document in which he gave examples of how a man might proceed to secure land. This told of John Masterman, who applied for

a tract of 400 acres in Mercer County. He explained how he had settled on the land in 1794, but had been driven away by an uprising of Indians. In two years he returned, and began cultivating the land. Surveyors testified to the truth of Masterman's statements, and in another document neighbors added their word.

In the absence of specific laws, this was held to be an ideal form of application with supporting documents.

The first large distribution of lands was made in recognition of heroes of the wars. On February 19, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia issued a proclamation "for encouraging men to enlist in his Majesty's Service for the Defence and Security of the Colony." Thus it came a few days after Washington's return from the Ohio, with news of the encroachments of the French and the depredations of the Indians. The document read:

"Whereas it is determined that a Fort be immediately built on the River Ohio, at the Forks of Monongahela, to oppose any further encroachments of the French and the Indians in their interest, and for the security and protection of his Majesty's subjects in the Colony; and as it is absolutely necessary that a sufficient Force be raised to erect and support the same: For an encouragement to all who shall voluntarily enter into the said service, I do hereby notify and promise, by and with the consent of his Majesty's Council of the Colony, that over and above their Pay, Two Hundred Thousand Acres, of His Majesty the King of Great Britain's Lands, on the east side of the River Ohio, within the Dominion (100,000 acres whereof to be contiguous to the said Fort, and the other 100,000 acres to be on, or near the River Ohio) shall be laid off and granted to such persons, who by their volun-

tary engagement and good behaviour in the service, shall deserve the same."

The lands offered were to be divided after the service was rendered, in proportion to individual merit, as reported by the officers.

After the Revolution, the states, as well as the nation, offered lands to officers and privates as a recognition of their services. In Pennsylvania provision was made that those who served to the end of the war should receive grants ranging from 2,000 acres for a major-general, to 200 acres for a private.

An incident of the war recognition was a memorial sent to the Virginia legislature by George Rogers Clark, the man to whose sagacity and courage was due the fact that the treaty of peace that followed the Revolution recognized the Mississippi River as the western boundary of the United States.

On May 27, 1780, he wrote a message that is of peculiar interest because of the naïve disclosure of his real motive in planning the expedition that meant so much for the country:

"Your petitioner, soon after the Discovery of the fine lands upon the Kentucky and the adjacent waters of the Ohio River, removed into that country, where he determined to lay out and risk all his little fortune, and accordingly was deeply engaged in settling, building on, and improving lands there, according to the custom of the country, expecting thereby to secure considerable quantities of land."

His plans were interfered with by the depredations of the Indians, who were instigated, as he learned, by the commandants and the British garrison at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. So he formed the design of reducing the

garrisons. At his own expense he sent scouts to study the situation at these points. He proposed the expedition against them, was sent out by Virginia, and succeeded in his attempt.

He further recited how he had done everything in his power to alienate the Indians from the British and attach them to America. A proof of his industry among them was given when the Indians of "the Obach and adjacent parts of the Ohio" asked him to live among them. That he might do so in comfort they insisted on giving him a tract of land, northeast of the Ohio River, at the Falls, 36,000 acres in all. This gift he could not refuse "without giving them umbrage and forfeiting influence acquired." The deed, in French, was duly recorded, "at St. Vincents." In submitting the original to the Assembly, he stated that he knew he had no real title, since only the Commonwealth could secure land from the Indians. But, in view of his services, he asked to have the title confirmed.

Unfortunately, there is no record of a definite answer to the memorial, though it is known that orders were given that 150,000 acres of land northwest of the Ohio be granted to the officers and men who served in Clark's expedition.

A much later record tells of another incident, in connection with the grant to Clark's soldiers. In 1831 Berry Canwood of Holston County, Kentucky, sent a petition to the Virginia Assembly. He said that he was a man of little or no information; that he had not been able to secure dependable word as to his rights in season to make application for a share of the grant northwest of the Ohio; that his share was probably "otherwise appropriated or finely lost." He told how Clark's campaigns, in which he had served, "were among the hardest that was

ever performed enduring the revolutionary war as they had to travell a number of miles through inundated lands and watercold." The request was that land somewhere else be apportioned to him. It would be fine to know that he received his wish. But the only record on his application states that it was referred to a committee.

What was, in many respects, the most interesting result of the policy of giving—or selling at a nominal price—lands to those who had served in the Revolution, was the founding of Marietta, in consequence of the sale by Congress, to the Ohio Company, of 1,500,000 acres in southeastern Ohio. Only 964,285 acres were ultimately paid for by the pioneers who laid out Marietta and their associates who went into the interior. The leading spirits of the movement were Manasseh Cutler and General Rufus Putnam. The latter was buried in the beautiful Mound Cemetery in the center of the town, where, it is claimed, more officers of the Revolution lie than in any other cemetery in the country. There were twelve colonels, twelve majors, and twenty-two captains among the Marietta pioneers. Over Putnam's grave is the inscription:

General Rufus Putnam
A Revolutionary Officer
and the leader of the
Colony who made the
Territory of the Northwest.
Born April 9, 1738.
Died May 4, 1824.

Ohio's settlement was hastened by a number of grants similar to that of the Ohio Company. More than 2,500,000 acres were set apart as the United States Military Lands, for officers and soldiers of the Revolution.

The Virginia Military Lands were located between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers; these were given to Virginia in consideration of her relinquishing all further claim to lands north of the Ohio which were a result of the careless generosity of James I in promising land to Virginia, according to her degrees of latitude, for an indefinite distance to the westward. The Connecticut Western Reserve had a similar history. Connecticut yielded her claim to lands west of her borders on condition that 3,800,000 acres be given her. It was to this land that General Moses Cleaveland led the settlers who laid out the town at the north of the Cuyahoga that was given his name. Half a million acres of the tract were set apart by Connecticut as the Fire Lands, for the benefit of the citizens of the state who had suffered during the Revolution by the depredations of the British, who burned much property in New London, Fairfield, and Norwalk.

In addition to this vast area there was the Symmes' Purchase, 311,682 acres between the Great and Little Miami Rivers, bought by John Cleves Symmes, for 67 cents an acre. The Refugee Tract of 100,000 acres was given by Congress to many people who had left their British homes during the Revolution, because their sympathies were with the Colonies. A fair sample of the men who received grants of lands so set apart is described in a document of the United States Treasury Department, dated February 15, 1800. Seth Harding moved from Norwich, Connecticut, in 1771, to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, carrying with him personal property to the value of about $2,000. He was once a member of the General Assembly of the province, and had an income of about $500 a year, and so was "in easy and prosperous circumstances." He returned to the United States in 1775, with some of the

BUILDING OF THE HOLLAND PURCHASE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BATAVIA, NEW YORK
(Once the Office of the Holland Land Company) (See page 290)

THE START OF THE WALKERS
(From an Old Print)

THE MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THE INDIAN WALK (See page 277)

property; the remainder was sold at public auction as the property of an enemy. During the war he rendered valuable service in the navy, capturing, in 1776, three vessels having on board a regiment of troops, 5,000 stands of arms, and other equipment. When his case was brought before the Treasury Department he was living in poverty and his family were suffering because of illness. He was in debt about $1,000. The Treasury Department recommended that there be made to him a grant of two thousand acres, to be located in such a manner as Congress should prescribe.

But the tale of the various Ohio Grants is not yet completed. Among others were Dohrman's Grant of 23,040 acres, named for Arnold Henry Dohrman, a wealthy Portuguese merchant living during the Revolution at Lisbon, who gave shelter and aid to American cruisers and vessels of war. Isaac Zane was given three tracts of a mile square each, because he had been taken prisoner by the Indians during the early years of the Revolution, and because, while with them, he had shown signal kindness to Americans who came in his way. The gift was made in 1802. Six years earlier Ebenezer Zane received a grant of like size on condition that he open a road through the lands from Wheeling, Virginia, to Maysville, Kentucky. The road he constructed, long known as Zane's Trace, was one of the famous pioneer trails.

Worthy of mention with the vast Ohio land grants were the sales in the western part of New York where acres by the million were juggled about in startling manner. The story of these real-estate deals harks back to 1620, when James I granted to the Plymouth Colony all the territory contained between several degrees of latitude along the Atlantic coast and reaching back into the unknown. In

1663 Charles II complicated matters by telling the Duke of York he, too, could have several degrees of land along the Atlantic, a little farther south. This territory also extended into the interior for an indefinite distance. Unfortunately the lines drawn for Plymouth Colony's seacoast crossed those drawn for the Duke of York's seacoast. Thus innocently the stage was set for a mighty controversy. Who was the real owner of the lands within the overlapping boundaries? The question was finally settled in 1786, when a convention at Hartford decided that, while New York should govern the territory, Massachusetts had the pre-emptive right to about six million acres, subject, of course, to the titles of the Indians.

In 1788, Massachusetts saw a chance to fill her depleted treasury, and a company of men represented by Nathaniel Gorham and Olin Phelps thought they saw a good opportunity to grow rich. For one million dollars several million acres were transferred, with the understanding that Indian rights must be recognized. The sum promised was to be paid in three annual installments, by the transfer of certain securities of Massachusetts, which were then selling at one fifth of par value.

The land was divided into townships, settlers were brought in from New England, and the first payment was made. Then, unexpectedly, the Massachusetts securities went to par and Phelps and Gorham were unable to complete payments. The land not paid for was returned to Massachusetts, but all for which payment had been made, with the exception of that sold to settlers, was transferred to Robert Morris of Philadelphia.

In a statement of his affairs, made after his financial reverses, Morris wrote:

"In the year 1790 I purchased of Messrs. Gorham and

Phelps a tract of country in the Genesee District, warranted to contain not less than one million of acres. This purchase gave me an insight into the status and circumstances of the remainder of the lands in that country, the right of pre-emption purchase from the Indians by the state of Massachusetts. I took measures, and in the year 1791 bought a tract of the said state, for which I paid at different periods £100,000, lawful money, equal to £125,000 Pennsylvania currency, with heavy interest. The whole purchase was estimated at four million acres. On actual survey it yielded more." The last of these magnificent land deals was concluded in 1793.

The Philadelphia dealer in real estate tremendous sold much of his interest to representatives of a number of rich men in Holland, who, not being able to hold land in America, had to act through others. At the time of the sale the Indian title had not been extinguished, so Morris promised to secure title for them. The fulfillment of his agreement led to a conference with the Seneca Indians at Geneseo on the Genesee River, in September, 1797. The United States was represented by a commission, Massachusetts had an agent present, and Morris was represented by Charles Williamson.

This Charles Williamson, by the way, represented other plungers in New York and Pennsylvania lands, who had bought from Morris 1,200,000 acres of the Phelps and Gorham tract. In 1792 his principals instructed him to build a road through the Pennsylvania wilderness for a large company of emigrants then on the way.

He had a choice of routes. He might take them up the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, and from there by land; or he might take them directly north. The former road was

long and there would be grave dangers of many kinds. The latter route did not exist.

Williams did not hesitate long. The road through the wild country must be built, even if the distance was more than one hundred miles. As soon as the emigrants were ready for the journey, he began work.

His plan was to direct the men in the party as they broke a section of the wilderness. When the way was open for a short distance, a log house was built for shelter. Here provisions were left for the women and children, who were brought to the end of the first stage. Then the roadmakers continued their toil until there was need for a second shelter and the women and children could advance another stage. The temporary shelter, or blockhouse, gave the name to the road. It became the Blockhouse Road—just as the road through the lands in New York became the Pre-emption Road, because of the pre-emptive right of Massachusetts.

The provisions were brought from Northumberland, Pennsylvania, by pack horses, until that point was too far in the rear; then other sources of supply had to be sought. At Canoe Camp canoes were built, and the party flocked downstream to Painted Post, New York. The final stage of the journey was to the site of the town of Bath, which was then founded.

When the completion of the route was announced, in 1796, there was great excitement. It was the first highway in all that section, and it shortened the distance from Northumberland to Painted Post about one hundred miles, opening to settlement a wide territory.

With the builders of the Blockhouse Road at Geneseo was Joseph Ellicott, whom Robert Morris sent on as surveyor to lay out the bounds of the immense tract from

which the Indian titles were to be extinguished. Surveys were conducted "from the shore of Lake Ontario, the boundary on the north, to the Streights of Niagara and the shore of Lake Erie."

Thus the Holland Land Company came on the scene as the greatest landholders in Western New York. Unfortunately, the sales were not conducted in such a manner as to conserve the immense fortune of Morris, which, in 1792, was estimated to be about eight million dollars. After his pitiful failure, we wrote: "If I had contented myself with the purchase, and employed my time and attention in disposing of the lands to the best advantage, I have every reason to believe that at this day I should have been the wealthiest citizen in the United States. That things have gone otherwise I lament more on account of others than on my own account." On December 1, 1800, he was so impoverished that he wrote to a correspondent censuring him for causing him a few cents' expense: "If you should find it necessary to write again, be good enough to pay the postage of your letter, for I have not one cent to spare from the means of sustenance."

In his failure Morris's name was connected with that of John Nicholson, who bought from him a large tract he had purchased in 1795 in northeastern Pennsylvania, at the price of fifty shillings per hundred acres. John Nicholson, who at one time held title to perhaps one seventh of Pennsylvania, failed for $12,000,000. The titles were so involved through this failure that it became necessary to authorize a special court, known as the Nicholson Court, to which was assigned full jurisdiction over all the Nicholson lands in a large area.

The Morris estate was even longer in finding final settlement. The man who financed the Revolution died in

1806, after spending a long period in a debtor's prison. Not until 1880 was the final accounting of the receivers made. At that time a balance of $22,294.91 was paid over to the heirs.

The Holland Land Company, successors to all the Morris interests in New York, in 1800 opened a land office at Batavia, of which announcement was made by a handbill. This said that the office was to be "for the sale of the valuable lands in the Genesee Country, situate in the last purchase made of the Seneca tribe of Indians, on the western side of the Genesee River."

The advertisement that talked of a little principality as if it were a mere farm, continued:

"The subscribers, during the years 1798 and 1791 surveyed and laid off the whole of the lands into townships, a part of which, to accommodate purchasers and settlers, is now laying off into lots and tracts from 120 acres and upwards to the quantity contained in a township. The lands abound with limestone, and are calculated to suit every description of purchasers and settlers. Those who prefer land timbered with black and white oak, hickory, poplar, chestnut, wild cherry, butternut and dogwood, or the more luxuriant timbered with basswood or gum, butternut, sugar-trees, white ash, wild cherry, cucumber trees (a species of the wild magnolia) and black walnut, may be suited. Those who prefer level land, or gradually ascending, affording extensive plain and valley, will find the country adapted to their choice. In short, such are the varieties of situation in this part of the Genesee country, everywhere almost covered with a rich soil, that it is promised that all purchasers who may be inclined to participate in the advantages of these lands, may select lots from 120 acres to tracts containing 100,-

000 acres, that would fully please and satisfy their choice. The Holland Land Company, whose liberality is so well known in the country, now offer to all those who may wish to become partakers of the growing value of these lands, such portions and such parts as they may think proper to purchase."

The Holland Land Company made purchases in Pennsylvania also. That they had more trouble there than in New York, is apparent from a memorial sent to the legislature of Pennsylvania by "Wilhem Willink, Hendrick Vollenhoven, and Rutgert Jan Schimmelfennick," These men, in 1791, associated with Nicholaas Van Stophort, Pieter Stadnitski, and Christian Van Eghen, bought lots, using in the purchase a portion of their estate "acquired through honorable industry." For the investment of their funds they turned to America—because this was the land of liberty like that they longed to have in their own Holland. Their purchases include 1,162 tracts of 400 acres each, north and west of the rivers Ohio and Allegheny. The price was $20 for 100 acres. The amount of the purchase was cut down in various ways to 310,400, and the total investment was increased, in a daring manner, to about half a million dollars. They had sold only about 45,000 acres, and they feared that they would never regain the sum invested, because, by reason of some technical nonconformity to the statutes, the holdings were, as they feared, to be declared forfeited. Their appeal, therefore, was for financial relief, as well as for character relief from the imputations made by some that the Holland Land Company had made "an enormous speculation," and that it was "a monopoly by rich foreigners, to the exclusion of poor men who would have actually settled the lands."

It was not necessary to resort to petition in New York. The company flourished. The land office at Batavia was a busy place. Not until comparatively late in the nineteenth century did it close its doors. Today the great building is the home of the Holland Purchase Historical Society, where are shown many relics of the days when the company owned a little kingdom in the heart of New York State.

Men who talked of thousands of acres of land as if they were a mere city lot were found west of the mountains as well as in the older states. In 1779 a petition from some of the Kentucky pioneers was sent to the Virginia Assembly, asking that, since the Indians had lately recognized Virginia's title to the lands on the east side of the Ohio River, they might be permitted "to take up and survey 60,000 acres, to begin at the Falls of the Cumberland River, and extend down the said river."

On the back of the petition, before filing the word, "Reasonable," was indorsed.

Another petition to the Virginia legislature, offered a little later, called attention to the Act of Assembly in establishing the Land Office, and asked for the right to secure lands in recognition of pioneer hardships and services. Unless the petition was granted, they said they would "lie under the disagreeable necessity of going down the Mississippi, to the Spanish protection, or becoming servants to private gentlemen . . . which is too rough a Medicine ever to be dejisted by any sort of people that have suffered as we have."

It is comforting to know that relief was given to the petitioners; the privilege sought was provided so generously that they did not have to "dejist" rough medicine.

Appeals for lands made by some pioneers in Illinois

and Indiana a little later were not so successful. The men made the mistake of being associated with the British in the days before George Rogers Clark ousted them from the Mississippi and the Wabash Rivers. William Murray was the leader in a memorial sent to the United States Supreme Court. He stated that he and the associates for whom he acted had, in 1773, secured from the Indians large tracts on the Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash Rivers. The Illinois purchases became the property of the Illinois Land Company, and the Wabash River lots were held by the Wabash Land Company. Title for the latter was secured from the Piankeshaw Indians at Post St. Vincents (Vincennes). There were two tracts of these Wabash lands, one north of the White River, the other from the mouth of the White to the Ohio, a distance of fifty-three leagues. And the boundaries reached forty leagues on each side of the Wabash. In 1780 the interests were united, the Illinois and Oubashe Land Company being organized for the purpose.

In 1781 Congress was asked to recognize the rights of the company. The application was renewed in 1791, in 1797, and again in 1804. But on each application the plea was rejected, on four grounds, any one of which would surely have been sufficient: The Indians were not proprietors of the lands transferred; the signers of the deed given were not authorized by their tribes; the purchases were made by private individuals, who had no right to trade with the Indians; and the lands had been ceded by the Indians to the United States.

The lesson that only government had the right to treat with Indians for their domain was taught back in the early days of the Colonies. For example, in 1637 the General Court of Hartford, Connecticut, issued the decree:

"The Court orders that no person in the colony shall buy, hire or receive as a gift or mortgage, any parcel of land or lands of any Indian or Indians, for the future, except he does buy or receive the same for the use of the Colony or the benefit of some Town."

What a wonderful thing it would have been if the government had been as careful in its land dealings with the Indians as private citizens were expected to be! The country needed the lands the Indians held. But surely the original proprietors might have been treated with more consideration than was shown to those who had first claim to the millions upon millions of acres to which the pioneers paved the way.

ON THE CANAL NEAR TULLYTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

ON THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL, NEAR WASHINGTON, D. C.

THREE SLED LOADS OF MINNESOTA PINE

A SCENE OF RUIN IN THE OLYMPIC NATIONAL FOREST, WASHINGTON

CHAPTER XV

A SQUANDERED INHERITANCE

WHEN the first Colonists and explorers came to America they were amazed at the extent and grandeur of the forests. Magnificent trees were everywhere, and they were of such size, so abundant, and of so many species that it would have seemed absurd to think that this wealth was not inexhaustible and for all time. They stretched along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida, and far back into the unexplored interior. They covered the mountains and filled the valleys; they bordered the rivers and stretched away over the hills. Conservative estimates show that there must have been 822,000,000 acres within the present borders of the United States, thirty times the area of Pennsylvania, or full 40 per cent of the area of the country, covered with waving green trees.

New York alone probably contained at least 30,000,000 acres of woodland, according to an expert of the State Conservation Commission, who says that, with the exception of some small clearings made by the Six Nations, the state at the time of the discovery of America was an unbroken expanse of superb forest. White pine there was in abundance, as well as hemlock, spruce, balsam, beech, birch, maple, oak, ash, cherry, and walnut! Pioneer residents of many of the first homes in the state tell of the great forests surrounding them. Schenectady became known as the town at "the end of the pine plains," while

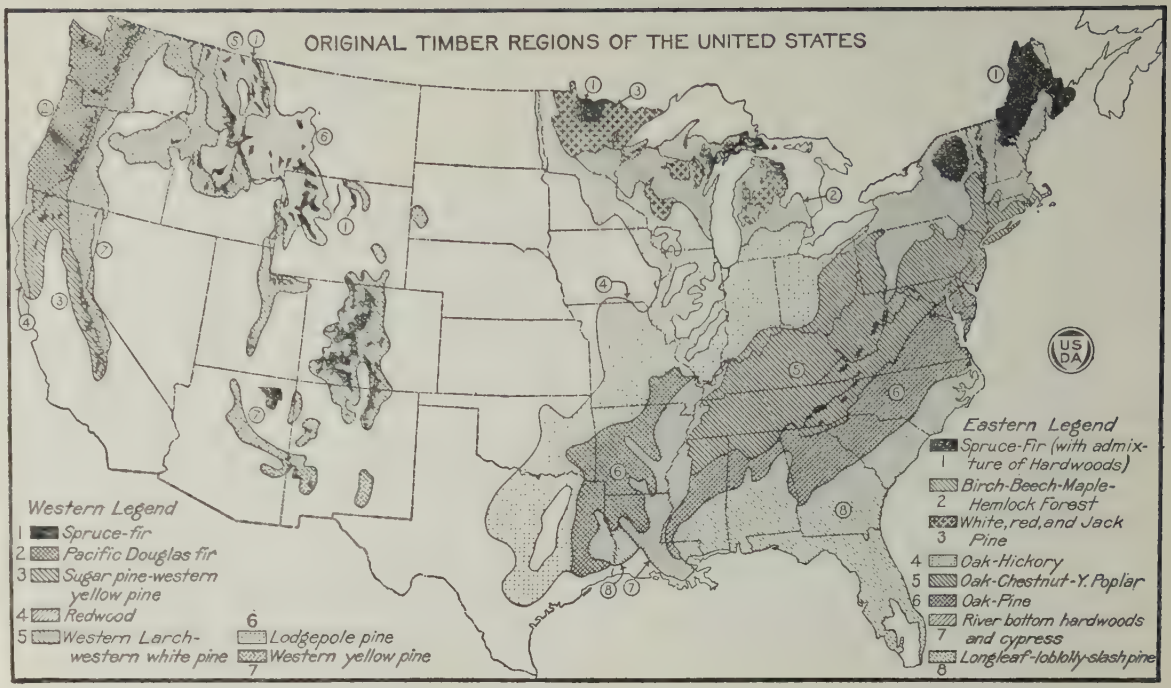
Pine Street in New Amsterdam was named because of the "many magnificent pines" for which the farm of Jan Jansen Damen was noted, and when Peter Kalm visited Albany in 1749 he spoke of the abundance of the white pine there.

After the visit to America of F. A. Michaux, the French botanist, in the first years of the nineteenth century, he spoke of the fact that "the travels and excursions of many learned naturalists throughout North America for more than a century past have shown how much this part of the New World is favored by nature. In America the trees of more than thirty feet in height, all of which I have examined, exceed 440 species. In France are but 37 which attain that height."

In the forests of New York the heights of the trees ranged from 130 to 160 feet, while the diameters, at breast height, were from two to four feet. Sometimes a tree was found that was much higher; a white pine cut in Delaware County was 247 feet long. A diameter of seven feet was not uncommon.

In Maine, too, the white-pine forests were so extensive that they appeared to cover the entire country. To the first settlers the timber supply seemed limitless. When Michaux threaded his way through the edges of the forests along the Kennebec, he stood in wonder before two prostrate trees, "of which one was 154 feet long and 54 inches in diameter, and the other 142 feet long and 42 inches in diameter, three feet from the ground." Near Hallowell he saw a stump more than six feet in diameter, the remnant of a tree that must have been at least 180 feet high.

What a wonderful sight the virgin forests must have been! Fortunately there are, scattered here and there,


ORIGINAL TIMBER REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES
USDA
Western Legend
1 Spruce-fir
2 Pacific Douglas fir
3 Sugar pine-western yellow pine
4 Redwood
5 Western Larch-western white pine
6 Lodgepole pine
7 Western yellow pine
Eastern Legend
1 Spruce-Fir (with admixture of Hardwoods)
2 Birch-Beech-Maple-Hemlock Forest
3 White, red, and Jack Pine
4 Oak-Hickory
5 Oak-Chestnut-Y. Poplar
6 Oak-Pine
7 River bottom hardwoods and cypress
8 Longleaf-loblolly-slashpine

even in the East, remains of such original forests, so that it is possible today to gain an idea of what met the gaze of the pioneers as they planned for conquest. And these great forest areas were not confined to New England. Michaux tells of seeing in New Jersey valleys planted with ash trees, planes and poplars. In North Carolina he marveled at the strength of the trees, "among which was observed the red and black oak, the sugar maple, the ash, the yellow-blossomed chestnut, and the common chestnut, which grow to a prodigious height." Then he told of the sides of the mountains, covered exclusively with a tree which, though small, clustered in thick groves.

But there were in Carolina vast areas of larger trees. The same observer said that there were two hundred thousand acres, each of which, on an average, contained fifty pine trees. Each tree, at the seaport, would have sold at ten dollars. "If to these are added the cypress and other trees," he continued, "the oaks, ashes, poplar, maple, beech, magnolia, cypress, palmettoes, and other common trees in Carolina, the sylvan riches of the state will be found to exceed all calculation."

When Michaux was in Pennsylvania, he found large forests of pine, on the upper waters of the Delaware and the Susquehanna Rivers. And at the headwaters of the Allegheny he saw other vast areas of pine that were thought to be adequate for all demands that would be made on them. The summits of the Alleghenies were covered with innumerable woods.

Later, when traveling down the Ohio River, the naturalist spoke of conditions which made rich forest plentiful: the flats between the river and the hills where "the soil is a true vegetable *humus,* produced by the thick bed of leaves with which the earth is loaded every year, and

GROUND READY FOR REFORESTATION, NEAR LAKE PLACID, NEW YORK.
SADDLEBACK AND HAYSTACK RANGES IN BACKGROUND

FOREST FIRE IN THE WASATCH NATIONAL FOREST, UTAH

FOREST PIONEERS IN MAPLE SUGAR TIME

which is speedily converted into mold by the humidity that reigns in these forests. But what adds still more to the thickness of these successive beds of vegetable earth are the trunks of enormous trees, thrown down by time, with which the surface of the ground is bestrewed, and which rapidly decays. In more than a thousand leagues of the country, over which I have travelled . . . I do not remember having seen one to compare with the latter for the vegetable strength of the forests."

He gave an illustration of the richness of tree growth in the Ohio Valley. "Thirty-six miles before our arrival in Marietta, we stopped at the hut of one of the inhabitants of the right bank, who showed us, about fifty yards from his door, a plane (buttonwood) tree, the trunk of which was swelled to an amazing size; we measured it four feet beyond the surface of the soil, and found it 47 feet in circumference." Thus the tree exceeded that of the same species found by General Washington on an island in the Ohio River, which—five feet from the ground—was forty feet in circumference.

Early in the nineteenth century a traveler from Great Britain, who crossed the country from Sandusky to Fort Washington (Cincinnati), made an appealing pen picture of the forests of Ohio:

"The most interesting sight to me was the forest. It now appealed in all its pristine state and grandeur, tall, magnificent, boundless. I had been somewhat disappointed in not finding vegetation developed itself in larger forms in New England than with us; but there was no place for disappointment here. I shall fail, however, to give you the impression it makes on one. Did it arise from height, or figures, or grouping, it might be conveyed to you; but it arises chiefly from combination. You must see in it all

stages of growth, decay, dissolution, and rejuvenation; you must see it pressing on you and overshadowing you by its silent force, and at other times spreading itself before you like a natural park; you must see that all the clearances made by the human hand bear no higher relation to it than does a mountain to the globe; you must travel in it in its solitariness, hour after hour, and day after day, frequently gazing on it with solemn delight, and occasionally casting the eye round in search of some cause, some end, without finding any, before you can fully understand its impression. Men say there is nothing in America to give you the sense of antiquity, and they mean that as there are no works of art to produce the effect, there can be nothing else; but . . . I have met with nothing among the most venerable forms of art which impresses me so thoroughly with the idea of indefinite distance and endless continuity of antiquity shrouded in all its mystery of solitude, illimitable and eternal."

Minnesota explorers, likewise, have left on record their impressions of the forests of the region bordering the Mississippi River. One who was making his way in a canoe above the region of Mille Lacs, along a tributary of the main stream, said:

"On each side all the country was covered with pine and hardwood for miles away from the stream, as far as it was navigable. It was called the West Branch of Pine River. This branch was well timbered for twenty-five miles, as also were all the tributaries. The pines on each side were from three to six miles wide."

Another hint of the riches of timber in the valleys of the rivers of the Middle West is given by the description of the Red River, as made by early explorers. For more than one hundred miles from its mouth, this stream was

filled, from bank to bank, with a solid mass of trees. In the course of centuries these had matted together until they formed what became known as the Red River Raft. Always fresh trees, falling into the river near its source, floated down to extend the length of this menace to the health of the settlers who found their way to the valley of the stream, and a hindrance to navigation of what would otherwise give a welcome to the boats of the pioneers. What wealth of forests there must have been at the headwaters, and along the course lower down, to make possible such an enormous mass of timber—a mass that, when moved, called for the expenditure of years of time and large sums of money.

The forests of the country were separated into two grand divisions. "The eastern division was continuous, and contained over one million square miles," according to the calculation of an expert of the United States Forest Service. "The western division was broken and confined by climatic conditions, chiefly to the mountain ranges and high plateaus; its area was approximately 245,000 square miles."

This, then, was the priceless heritage which should have been conserved for posterity. Why was it not preserved?

The answer is simple. "Hostility to the forest became ingrained in the American spirit," explains a writer of a United States Forest Service Bulletin. "The task of the Colonists was to fight the forest which hemmed them in, which sheltered wild beasts and wild men, which fought back at them for possession of the clearings, which was so huge as to make their assault on it seem puny and of negligible consequence."

The Colonists cut trees because they desired to clear land for their fields. They found, too, that they could

fashion from the trees their houses, their furniture, and various other things of use for themselves and for trade to others. The black walnut and the wild cherry were found so useful that they gradually became scarce, and at length disappeared almost entirely. Then, at an early date, they began to export the riches of the forest. It is related that in 1626, only three years after the arrival of the first Colonists in New Amsterdam, the ship *Argus of Amsterdam* sailed out of North River, laden with "considerable oak and hickory," conveyed to Holland!

It was not long until, in some of the settlements, timber became scarce; all the available supply within easy reach had been cut, and transportation from a distance was not easy. This situation of early days was like that of Dawson, the gold-mining town on the Yukon, first settled in 1897, which used its local plentiful timber supply so prodigally that, within a few years, the cost of cordwood rose to fourteen dollars, because of the necessity of bringing it from a distance.

At first the greatest destruction of the forests was due to the wasteful methods adopted in clearing the land. There were no sawmills, except in New Amsterdam, where three were built in 1623, and in Maine, where a number were built soon after that date. In other places the hewing and squaring of timber with the broad ax was considered sufficient, especially when this was supplemented by pit sawing, the method accepted in England for many centuries and continued long after the introduction of sawmills elsewhere, because of the opposition to labor-saving machinery that might throw men out of work.

But gradually sawmills found their way into the forests. They were small and could do little execution. But there were many of them. A letter written by the Earl of

Bellomont dated January 2, 1701, and addressed to the Lord of Trade, in London, told of the progress of the industry:

"They have got about 40 sawmills up in the province (New York) which I hear rids more wood or destroys more timber than all the sawmills in New Hampshire. Four saws are the most in New Hampshire that work in one mill, and here is a Dutchman, lately come over, who is an extraordinary artist at those mills. Mr. Livingston told me this last summer he had made him a mill that went with 12 saws. A few such mills will quickly destroy all the woods in the prairie at a reasonable distance from this."

Nearly a century later the *Ulster County Gazette* contained the advertisement of a sawmill, "lying in the town of Rochester." This advertisement is of special interest because of the statement made, "By the mill is an inexhaustible quantity of Pine Wood." How much pine wood is there to-day in the vicinity of Rochester?

Among first measures taken for the preservation of the forests were not measures of conservation, but of reservation. The stately white pine trunks had appealed to the agents of the king. In 1711, and again in 1721, ordinances were passed—seven in all—which prohibited the cutting of any trees proper for masts in the provinces of the crown, from New Jersey to Nova Scotia. The result of this order was noted by Michaux when he visited the Colonies:

"For a space of 600 miles, from Philadelphia to a distance beyond Boston, I did not observe a single stock of the white pine large enough for the mast of a vessel of 600 tons."

The first record of the exploitation of American forests

for the royal ships dates far back of the edicts which led to the spoliation of which Michaux told. In 1666 Pepys wrote in his diary:

"Very good news is come of four New England ships Come home safe to Falmouth, with masts for the King; which is a blessing mighty unexpected and without which, if for nothing else, we must have failed the next year."

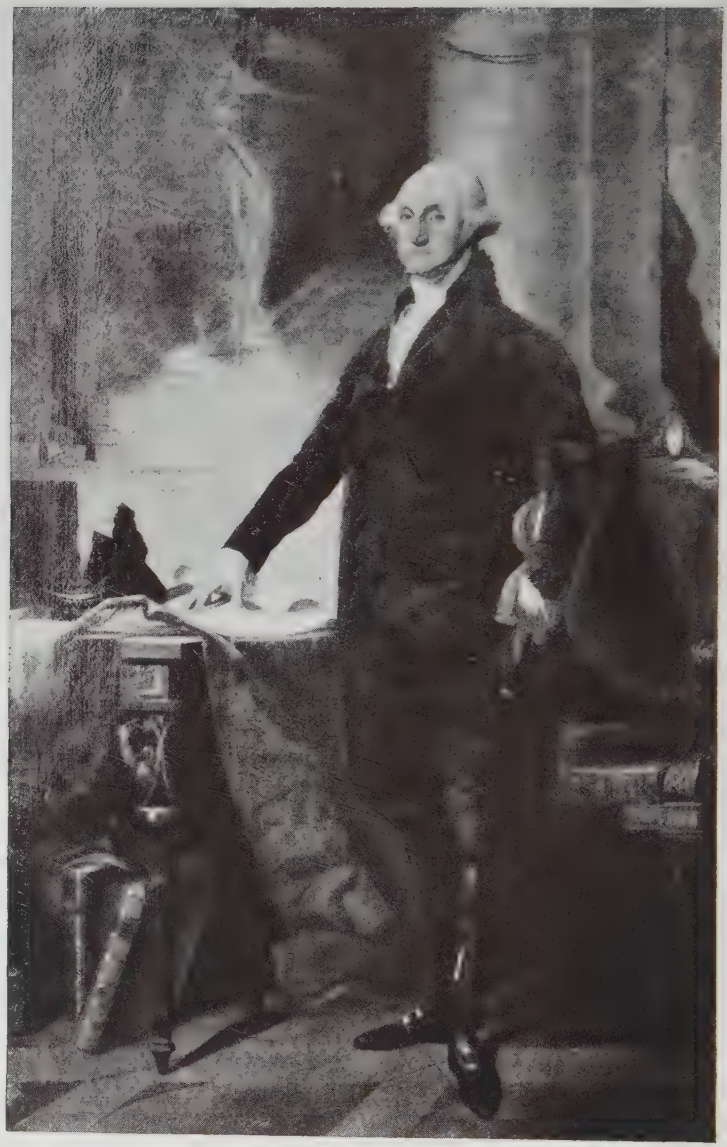
A curious little book published in London in 1731 referred to these reserved forest areas, in terms that must have been unpleasant to the Colonists who felt that the riches of the country should belong to them:

"Most of the Timber belonging to private Persons near the Rivers and inhabited Towns in the Northern colonies was cut down, and the People every day Destroying the King's Woods . . . some of the richest men in Boston have got their Estate by exporting Lumber, made from his Majesty's Pine Trees."

Yet during the same year another volume of a controversial nature, also hailing from London, gave a different view of the forest situation. The author was replying to a pamphlet, "whose author would persuade us that Lumber was become so scarce as that we might be like to hoard a supply for our own Islands." This plea was made in behalf of the law that forbade the exporting of lumber to the West Indies. To this the author answered: "Strange, indeed, if in a woody coast of 700 or 800 miles (as he has told us) we should ever want Timber, when we find Norway, of far less extent, has always held out to [illegible] great part of Europe for many ages; would it not be more reasonable to suppose, that if it should be destroyed in one place, we might find plenty in a thousand more?"

So the careless wasters of the forest riches proceeded

DOOMED



PORTRAIT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON
(From Painting attributed to Gilbert Stuart, in the Supreme Court Rooms, Washington, D. C.)

with their destruction, in the gay spirit of the pioneer who wrote:

"The timber here is very good—
The forest dense of sturdy wood;
The maple tree its sweet affords,
And walnut it is sawn to boards,
The great oak the axman hails,
Its massive trunk is torn to rails."

A woodsman of early days told a story of useless destruction that makes sick the heart of the lover of trees. One day he found a pine, straight as a candle, six feet in diameter four feet from the ground, 144 feet high, and 65 feet to the first branch. This he proceeded to cut down. Let him tell the story of murder:

"After chopping an hour or so, the mighty giant, the growth of centuries, which had withstood the hurricane, and raised itself in majesty above all around, began to tremble under the strokes of a mere insect, as I might appear in comparison with it. My heart palpitated as I occasionally raised my eyes to the pinnacle to catch the first indication of the fall. It came down at length with a crash which seemed to shake a hundred acres, while the loud echo rang through the forest, dying away among the hills . . . The surface of the stump was sufficiently capacious for a yoke of oxen to stand upon it. I made fine logs and loaded a six-ox team three times. The butt log was so large that the stream did not float it in the spring, and when the drive was taken down, we were obliged to leave it behind, much to our regret and loss. At the town that log would have been worth fifty dollars."

That lumberman should have been compelled to commit

to memory the section of the Connecticut laws of 1672 which made provision "For the preserving of timber:

"It is by the Court ordered that, whosoever shall fell any Timber Tree within the Colony, and not improve it within three months after he hath felled it (unless he be prevented by sickness or otherwise inevitably) he shall forfeit ten shilling, five shilling to the publick Treasury, and five shillings to the Complainer."

As a result of just such operations as that in Maine a lumberman writes that little remains of the gigantic forests. He says that the history of lumbering has been a history of waste in all lumber districts. "Probably the actual wastage of timber incidental to the early history of cutting logs, supplemented by the forest fire that always followed the lumberman's ax, nearly if not quite equalled the quantity brought to market."

When the Maine lumberman, after exhausting the timber supplies near at hand, wished to find further areas ripe for destruction, he would adopt a method of exploration that was prophetic of what would happen to the trees he sought. He would ascend the highest tree available. "The spruce tree is generally selected," the account says, "principally for the superior facilities which the numerous limbs afford the climber. To gain the first limb of the tree, which is from 20 to 40 feet from the ground, a smaller tree is undercut and lodged against it, clambering up which the top of the spruce is reached. In some cases, where a very elevated point is desired, the spruce tree is lodged against the trunk of some lofty pine, up which we ascend to a height twice that of the surrounding forest."

Michaux has given the best picture of the destruction of the forests in early days. As he traveled he saw, in Maine,

the devastation wrought in consequence of the eighteenth century encouragement of the king of England to ship tar in large quantities, with a double premium for all tar secured from green wood; the method adopted to win the premium in the easiest manner brought about the death of the tar industry in the North. In the South he was aghast because of the failure to conserve the long-leaf pine, whose place could be supplied by no other species. He found many plantations, each of from two to three hundred acres of fertile land, though only a few acres were cleared, because of the difficulty of securing workmen. So it happened that the larger the family a man had, the greater his prosperity, for he would be able to clear more land. At Pittsburgh he commented on the ship-building industry, where oak, white, red, and black, the Virginia cherry tree, and a kind of pine were used prodigally. Everywhere he found houses built of white pine; Wheeling, Marietta, and Pittsburgh were noted especially, the timber used costing but six or seven dollars a thousand feet. In the South he saw with sadness that the eagerness to plant cotton was so great that "forests containing immense quantities of useful wood are merely cut down and burnt, without any other advantage than what is derived from the fertilizing quality of the ashes." The high price of cotton, he said, was leading landowners to sacrifice another great source of wealth. In East Tennessee or Kentucky he noted the meadows that were provided by the burning of the forests each year, so that the meadows encroached continually on the forests. In Kentucky he paused to see the salt works at Mays Lick, where an effective method of heating the evaporation pots, by means of billets of wood about three feet long, led him to speak of the extravagence which wasted prodigious quantities

of wood. But the people seemed apathetic; they did not know there was any preferable method.

Sights like those which troubled Michaux led Henry Ward Beecher, then a resident of Indiana, to write in 1843:

"We are gaining meadows, and cane bottoms, and green hillsides and tree plats, by an utter extinction of the forest. Here and there an Indian may be found lingering around the old possessions of his nation, as if to mourn their loss and to remind us of his ancestors; but of the forest, it is almost true that not a single tree is left to recall to our minds the glory of its fellows. Indeed, I have thought that those who were obliged to clear towns on timber land, imbibe the same feelings toward trees which the pioneers have toward the Indians—as things to be destroyed, of course. This devastation of our forests the political economists regard as a blunder . . . but one who looks upon trees almost as if they had souls, witnesses this needless extermination with feelings which cannot be expressed in the puny language of the economist. I think it is Michaux who pronounces the full-grown elm to be the most magnificent production in the vegetable kingdom. Is not an old, and tall, and broad, and healthy tree nobler to the eye than any temple or cathedral? This wonder of a century's growth ends in an hour by some man who never for a single moment thinks of the majesty or beauty of the victim—who only thinks how soonest to get it down, and burned up, and out of the way of the plow."

The words of Beecher were spoken in vain, as were those of Michaux, when he "endeavored to impress on the American farmers the importance and pecuniary advantage which would result to them and to their families

from the preservation of different species of timber of which they ought to insure the growth." He was glad to note that there had been men who raised their voice in protest—men like William Hamilton, who made of The Woodlands, near Philadelphia, a park of all species of trees he could secure, or John Bartram and his son William, whose home place, also near Philadelphia, was made a botanical garden famous not only in America, but in Europe. But what were a few men like these in comparison with the hosts of those who cared for nothing but the profit and comfort of the moment?

Of course destruction was slow until the nineteenth century was completed. But the habit was formed in the earlier years of the nation's history, and it was not to be broken. First Maine lost its forests, then Pennsylvania, then Michigan, then Minnesota. Now the South and West are doing their best to catch up with the North and the East, utterly oblivious of the fact that denuded forest lands are not only an awful deprivation, but a fearful menace. Pennsylvania has five million acres of this barren land—"Pennsylvania's Desert," Gifford Pinchot has called the vast area. And once it was covered with glorious trees!

In 1802 Michaux mourned that "in America, neither the federal government, nor the governments of the different states, have reserved to themselves any portion of the forests." But in 1880, after more than two centuries of forest spoliation, the United States Division of Forestry was instituted. Since 1905 there has been the Forest Service, administered by the Department of Agriculture. Though fearfully handicapped by reason of past history and by present indifference, the Service—its activities supplemented by those of many states that are

facing the problem of forest conservation within their own borders—is working wonders to salvage what it can from the wreck wrought by prodigal methods, and to build forests which shall be, not a mine, but a crop.

Foresters might well be dismayed by the fact that, of the original 822,000,000 acres of forest lands, but 470,000,000 are left—and that includes all waste and denuded forest lands, all young timber, and all culled forests. Take these away, and there are left but 138,000,000 acres of virgin forest! Ninety-five per cent of this virgin timber is in the South and West. And though the stand in the West is nearly three times as great as in the South, the cut in the South is greater than in the West.

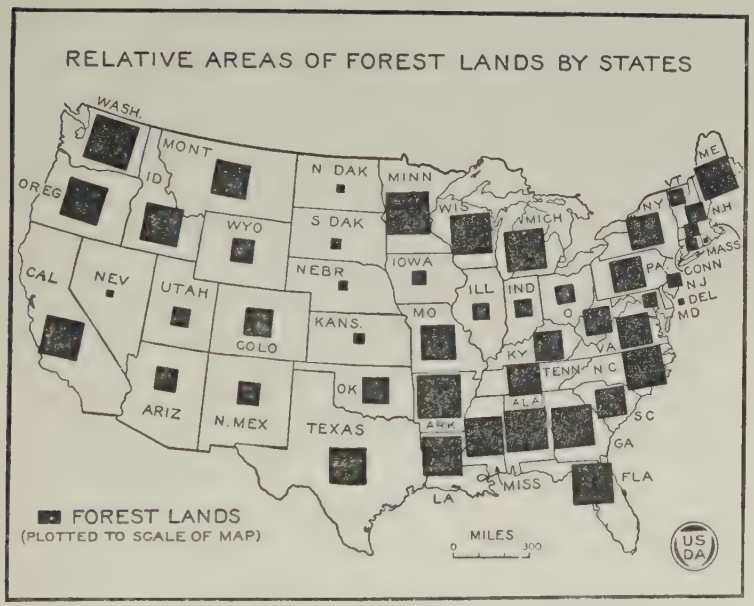
Yes, the forest conservation people might be discouraged by such a showing. But, fortunately for the country, they are looking forward to a day when America's own forests will again be sufficient for all her needs, and there will be no more the specter of denuded lands, like those of China and of Korea.

These lines had just been written when the mails brought an appeal from the New York State College of Forestry:

"It has been fashionable to direct attention to China when an example was wanted of a dead nation. We, in the progressive United States, think ourselves ahead of the times, but the United States and China have contested fiercely to see which would be the biggest waster of forest resources, and the United States won easily.

"The debauch by nations of their natural resources is nothing new. King Solomon and some of his friends indulged in it and left Mesopotamia practically treeless. Most of the Greek patriarchs and Roman Emperors were good tree-killers. All the Mediterranean countries, in

fact, all nations from time to time have had their orgies of forest devastation, and just to prove that history repeats itself, Uncle Sam as soon as he got on long breeches started right in to smash all records as a timber annihilator. He annexed the speed trophy by a large margin, and took the medal for quantity, too.



"Nations that had learned their lesson in forest destruction sat back and laughed. Japan, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Italy, Turkey, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, New Zealand, France, Germany, England, and even Russia have indulged in this national waste and have started to repair or have already repaired the damage. It will be as much folly if we fail to bring back an adequate supply of timber as it was to destroy the virgin forests.

Are we to heed the lessons taught by these countries, or still keep company with the backward policies of China? If we are to profit by the history of forest destruction, we should demand a strong forest program that will assure an ample supply of wood, and stick to that demand until such a program is adopted by a coöperative movement between our national and state legislatures."

The time of full forest restoration may be far in the future. But what of it? The Forest Service is made up of men of vision, who measure time by centuries, who dream of blessings for a dozen generations of those who come after them.

CHAPTER XVI

HOLIDAYS AND FEAST DAYS OF OLD

THE love of holidays and feasting was brought to the Colonies with them by the first emigrants to the new land—that is, unless they were Puritans or Quakers, or had some other reason for feeling that holidays were a delusion, and feasting a snare and a pitfall.

But the Dutch who settled New Amsterdam had no such conscientious scruples. Their heritage from European ancestors made them conspicuous observers of play times, and devoted adherents to the doctrine that nothing was better than eating—unless it was more eating. Not even the dread of the Indians—and the first inhabitants of New York City had their full share of troubles from the savages—could make them indifferent to the call of the days which had been set apart for good cheer.

And that they might not lose any opportunity, they made an early beginning. In fact, their first holiday was New Year's Day—or "Niew Jaar," as they called it. At an early period everybody either visited or received visits, and offered or received cakes, wine, and punch. Thus they were responsible for beginning on this side of the Atlantic the custom of paying New-Year's calls. That custom continued, and spread, for two centuries or more. In fact, not until 1870 did New York become so large that it was found inconvenient to conform to the old habit.

The Goede Vrouw of Mana-ha-to tells of the New-

Year's celebration of 1667, which was especially notable.

"Each burgher rose early and dressed himself with care, prepared to go the rounds of the city and call on every lady of his acquaintance and wish her a happy New Year. The governor's wife and his sister received the honor of the first visit. They sat in state in the best part of their bouwerie, clad in their handsome robes, and received sluy after sluy load of visitors. The best part of the function was the tasting and sipping of various cordials prepared by the matrons themselves after secret family recipes. The wine was handed with the remark, "Credencense!" and accepted with a deep bow and the wish of a "Happy New Year," after which each gentleman bowed himself out, to be succeeded by nearly every man of the little town. The first comers hastened back to the city to greet every lady of their acquaintance."

Other Colonies, too, observed the New Year—especially Virginia and Louisiana. An old record tells how, in 1762, Colonel Gordon "had a large company" at his house "Merry Mount." In New Orleans the day was the favorite time for the greatest feast of the year, when all the family would gather about the groaning board to taste the wonderful concoctions of the Creole kitchen.

In staid Philadelphia George Washington helped to popularize the custom that appealed to the burghers of New York, the patroons of Virginia, and the Creoles of New Orleans. When he went to New York as the first citizen of his country he saw the possibilities of the first day of the year; his journal reads that on January 1, 1790, "the Vice President, the Governor, the Senators, Members of the House of Representatives in Town," as well as diplomats and citizens, came between the hours of twelve and three o'clock, to pay their compliments of

the season to the President. Later in the afternoon many "gentlemen and ladies" visited Mrs. Washington.

A year later the Republican court was in Philadelphia. Opportunity was given to officials and citizens alike to "pay the compliments of the season" to Mr. and Mrs. Washington. William Maclay gave delightfully in his diary a picture of an incident of the reception:

"Just as I passed the President's house Griffin called to me and asked whether I would not pay my respects to the President. I was in boots and had on my worst clothes. I could not persuade myself to go in with him. I had, however, passed him but a little way, when Osgood, the Post Master General, attacked me warmly to go with him. I was pushed forward by him; bolted into his presence; made the President the compliments of the season; had a hearty shake of the hand. I was asked to partake of the punch and cake, but declined. I sat down, and we had some chat." But when the diplomatic gentry and foreigners came in, he saw his opportunity to make his bow and wish the President good morning.

New-Year's Day, in Philadelphia, in New York, in Boston, and in other cities, was a recognized opportunity for various men and boys whose duties brought them into daily touch with those they served, to appeal for a celebration of the day that would add to their perquisites. The newsboys, especially, felt that it was their right to approach their clients in this way. For many years the New-Year's address was an accustomed feature of the day. This address was frequently ingenious, usually humorous, often atrociously written, and always gave broad hints of what was expected of those who—whether they would or not—received it. In a remarkable manner the writers of the addresses took advantage of the news

of the day, in Europe or in America, and turned the events to their own advantage.

On December 31, 1764, the carriers of the *Boston Evening Post* humbly addressed the gentleman and ladies whom they served:

"The Boy who Weekly Pads the Streets
With all the freshest News he meets,
His Mistresses and Masters Greets.

"The Flying Year is Almost Past:
Unwearied Time, which runs so fast,
Has brought the welcome Day at last.

"The Time of Joy to all Mankind
Your News-Boy humbly hopes to find,
The Bounty of each Generous Mind.

"Christmas and New Year, Days of Joy,
The Harvest of your Corner Boy,
He hopes you'll not his hope destroy,
And kindly listen to his Song,
Which runs so smooth in Rhyme, Ding, Dong."

Perhaps that effort was too long. At any rate, one year later, the message was much more simple:

"Master, my Modesty's so great,
My words are seldom more than Eight.
This week the year begins A-new,
You know, Sir, what you used to do:
If my past Services now a Gift obtains,
Your Servant in his Trust remains."

January 1, 1766, brought the opportunity to play on

political matters, as well as to make laughable rhymes (The reference in the first line was to November 1, when the Stamp Act went into effect.)

"'Tis past; 'Tis gone! The important Day has fled,
When Tyrants wish'd to strike fair freedom dead. . . .
May George the Great, with open'd Ears and Eyes,
Observe our Injuries, and hear our Cries;
Redeem our Grievance; and vouchsafe to give
Joy to the Freemen, who like Britons live."

That was enough for politics. Then came the meat in the carriers' cocoanut—the appeal for gifts.

Laurence Swinney, carrier of the *News,* went a step farther. He called himself the "Enemy to the Stamp, a Friend of the Constitution, and an Englishman every Inch." Then he said:

"I am against the Stamp Act,
If it takes Place, I'm ruined for ever.
I'm in Debt to the Doctor,
And never a Farthing to pay.
The Weather is severely cold.
I have the Rheumatism in my Leg,
And but little Hay for my Horse,
And if Furies should Stamp him to Death,
More than Half of my Fortune is gone!"

A wonderful opportunity was presented on New-Year's Day of 1769. The carrier of the *Boston Post Boy* saw it:

"Joy to New England is the Cry,
The Stamps are dead,
And we are freed.

"Postscript.
"Your Humble Slave
Doth Prostrate lie
And Humbly craves
Your Charity."

The desire for some of the graft enjoyed by the carrier boy infected those who ought to have been above such methods of gaining stray coins. In 1766 a blacksmith came to the front with an appeal:

"This is to all Gentlemen who Shoes here,
I wish you a Merry Christmas, a happy New Year:
For shoing your Horses, and triming their Locks,
Please to remember my New Year's Box."

This servile manner of approach did not seem so out of place when printed by a Negro in 1769:

"Thomas, Servant of Mr. Moore, humbly wishes all his generous Customers, a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

"See honest Tom, kind sir, does still appear,
And trudges thro' the mud from year to year,
To bring your Wood, and lay it at your Door,
For which he does your kindness now implore.
Therefore in Pity to your faithful lad,
Some pence bestow, for which he will be glad."

More popular even than New-Year's Day, because more generally observed, was the birthday of the king, whose loyal servants the Colonists counted themselves. The English custom of making the royal natal day one of the

glad holidays of the year was early transferred to this side of the Atlantic.

One of the early celebrations was at New Castle upon Delaware, on May 28, 1724. A broadside which tells of the events of that occasion is notable because it shows how subservient were the people:

"This being the Anniversary of His Majesty's Birth-Day, Sir William Keith, Baronet, our Governor, came to the Court House, attended with the principal Inhabitants of the Place, and after having caused the King's Charter to be published for Erecting the same, into a Body Corporate and Politick, with many Valuable Privileges, by the name of the City of New Castle; He made the following speech:

"Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen of the city and Corporation: I have comply'd with your Desire at this Juncture, and always find a very agreeable Satisfaction with myself, when it is in my Power to Contribute anything towards the Happiness and Prosperity of the People, who are immediately under my Care, yet I must put you in Mind, that your Gratitude on this Occasion is principally, and I may say wholly due to the benign Influence of a most gracious King, by whose authority you are now happily possess'd of many Valuable and Great Privileges, and whose Royal Pattern of Love and Tenderness to all his Subjects, must inspire such as have the Honour to be employ'd under him in the Administration of the Affairs of Government . . ."

This was only the beginning of a long, fulsome message. Following it came the statement that "the Governor and his Lady were afterwards entertained at Dinner by the Magistrate, when the King's Health, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family with many

other Loyal Healths were drank, with several Discharges of the Cannon belonging to the Place."

Virginians were conspicuous in their loyal observance of the birthday of the King and members of his family. The *Virginia Gazette* told how, in 1736, the anniversary of the Prince of Wales was celebrated in Williamsburg, the capital, by firing of guns, displaying of colors, and other public demonstrations of joy, while at night his Honor, the Governor, gave a ball and an elegant entertainment to the ladies and gentlemen. In 1752 "the whole City was illuminated" for the birthday of the king, while on another occasion it is recorded that the President of the Council added to "his elegant entertainment for the ladies and gentlemen a purse of fifty pistoles to be distributed amongst the poor."

As years passed, the celebration of the day became perfunctory. Then the observance was omitted. Finally it entered the heads of some loyal patriots that America could substitute for the birthday of the king the birthday of George Washington. One of the earliest records of the substitution came from Newport, where, in 1781, Count Rochambeau, leader of the French allies, wrote to Washington:

"Yesterday (Sunday) was the anniversary of your Excellency's birthday. We have put off celebrating that holiday till today, by reason of the Lord's day, and we will celebrate it with the sole regret that your Excellency is not a witness of the gladness of our hearts."

That day the French troops paraded, salutes were fired, and all possible labor was halted.

When Washington received the letter telling of the honor done him, he wrote to Rochambeau:

"The flattering distinction paid to the Anniversary of

INDEPENDENCE HALL, THE OLD STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA

RAISING THE FIRST LIBERTY POLE IN PHILADELPHIA, JULY 5, 1776

my birthday is an honor for which I dare not attempt to express my gratitude. I confide in your excellency, or sensibility, to interpret my feelings for this, and for the obliging manner in which you are pleased to announce it."

The example set by Rochambeau was not followed with any great unanimity. Even some years later the action of the new Tammany Society in New York City was considered worth mention. The members held a meeting at their wigwam, and resolved forever after it would "commemorate the birthday of the illustrious George Washington."

With the transfer of the seat of government to Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love began to count on the birthday as an annual event. In 1793 Dunlap's *American Daily Advertiser* told of a parade of artillery and infantry to the State House, then to the corner of Ninth and Market streets, "where they fired fifteen rounds, and gave three cheers." Then they marched down Market Street and gave a salute as they passed the President's house. At the same time bells pealed. "The beauty of the Weather added greatly to the scene, by seeming to welcome the day on which our Victorious General and Excellent Chief Magistrate entered his Sixty-Second Year."

The account of the day concluded:

"It is impossible for us, it is impossible for any American, or perhaps for the people of any nation upon earth, to refrain from expressing a degree of satisfaction at the return of every revolving year that prolongs the life of a man, whose virtues have raised him to the very highest pitch of esteem."

On another birthday "the officers of the City, Liberties, and Districts of Philadelphia, paid their respects in a

body, and there was also a military parade with firing of guns, and ringing of bells. In the evening the City Dancing Assembly (a social organization which had its beginning in 1748) gave a ball, when, among those present, were the President and Mrs. Washington, the Vice-President, the Foreign Ministers, Speaker Trumbull, members of Congress, and the Governor. The event was crowned "with one of the most brilliant displays of beauty ever exhibited in this city," said the newspaper report.

Isaac Weld, traveler from abroad, was in Philadelphia on February 22, 1796. He wrote in the volume that told of his journeyings:

"This city was unusually gay, every person of consequence in it, Quakers alone excepted, made it a point to visit the General on this day. . . . Two large parlors were open for the reception of the gentlemen, the windows of one of which toward the street were crowded with spectators in the streets. . . . I never observed so much cheerfulness in the countenance of General Washington, but it was impossible for him to remain insensible to the attention and compliments paid to him on this occasion. The ladies of the city, equally attentive, paid their respects to Mrs. Washington, who received them in the drawing room upstairs. After having visited the General, most of the gentlemen also waited on her."

Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser* told, in 1797, how the day, which had always been observed in the city by marks of joy, was observed with special interest, because it was the last during the Presidency of Washington. The feelings of the people, the editor indicated, "were of a peculiar kind, which are always better felt than expressed—they were those of Gratitude and Esteem for Eminent Service." One of the guests on this occasion

wrote to his wife, "Mrs. Washington was even moved to tears."

The last birthday of Washington's lifetime was celebrated at Mount Vernon by the marriage of Miss Custis, the adopted daughter, to Mr. Laurence Lewis's favorite nephew. It is recorded that the bride wanted Washington to wear his splendidly embroidered uniform as general. But this displayed too much golden embroidery for him, so he wore an old Continental buff and blue, and the cocked hat with plain black ribbon cockade.

But the celebration of the birthday of the Father of his Country did not cease in 1799. In fact, his death merely gave impetus to the observance; in this it was mightily different from the birthday of the king of England, which first pointed the way for the observance. An example of one of the early celebrations that followed Washington's death is given in the recollections of a resident of Newport, Rhode Island:

"The last of the subscription Assemblies in Newport was Washington's birthday night ball, when were provided sundry huge loaves of frosted plum-cake, manufactured by the Duchess [a free black, the most celebrated cake-maker in Rhode Island.] The work was done in our kitchen, having an ample oven, and required a day and night for its completion. Owing to the scarcity of public carriages in the town—there being but two—it became necessary to give early notice of the day and hour, when the Assembly was to take place, so that no delay in conveying the company to Masonic Hall might occur. The transportation, accordingly, commenced at the hour of 6 p. m., and occupied over two hours. When the company had assembled, a rule, previously adopted, was carried out, that of drawing for partners for the first two dances. By

this arrangement, the least comely of the company was sure of dancing twice; and very often they were on the floor for many other dances, their agreeable conversation compensating for any lack of personal charm."

Linked closely to Washington's Birthday for most of a century has been the Fourth of July, the day that celebrates the birth of the nation of which Washington is honored as the Father.

One hundred and fifty years seems a long time. But it is proper to go back much farther, if we would seek the day of the real birth of the country—back to that remarkable document, the Mayflower Compact of 1620, for, as has been said, "Without it and the spirit which actuated it, and the people who lived up to it, it is safe to say that the United States of America would not be in existence to-day."

The remarkable document which foreshadowed the nation which was to be read:

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our devoted sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together, into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and formation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitution, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the

Colony: under which we promise all due reverence and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names, Cape Cod, 11 of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, 18 and of Scotland 54, Anno Domini 1620."

That compact and the events which followed it are commemorated by Forefathers' Day, an occasion first set apart in 1769. Seven years later came the Declaration of Independence, the "Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America," to the support of which the signers mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. And at once, not only those who had been celebrating Forefathers' Day, but all who recognized the action of the Thirteen States, realized that it was their privilege to add their acclaim on the anniversary of an event that was the fit and inevitable successor of the action of 1620.

The Orderly Book of George Washington, on July 2, 1776, told of his eagerness as he looked forward to the event celebrated by Independence Day:

"The time is now at hand, which must probably determine whether Americans are to be Freemen or Slaves, whether they are to have any Property they can call their own, whether their Houses and Farms are to be pilaged or destroyed and they conveyed to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts will probably deliver them. The fate of the unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the Courage and Conduct of the Army."

Two days later, the Declaration had its birth, as announced to the people by the pealing of the State House bell which, in 1751, had been inscribed:

"Proclaim Liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Levit. XXV.10."

The men who signed the Declaration were all filled with the spirit so well expressed by Abijah Clark, member of Congress, who wrote, in August, 1776:

"As to my title, I know not yet whether it will be honorable or dishonourable; the issue of the war must settle it. Perhaps our Congress will be exalted on a high gallows. We were truly brought to the case of the three lepers; if we continued in the state we were in, it was evident we must perish; if we declared Independence, we might be saved—we could but perish. . . . Nothing short of the power of God can save us. . . . I think an interfering Providence hath been evident in all the events that necessarily led us to what we are . . . independent states."

The first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was one of the notable days of Philadelphia during the Revolution. Thanksgiving for the freedom of the city from invasion found expression in a great festival. George Bryan, member of Congress, gave another reason for the extent of the celebration as encouraged by the authorities. In a letter to his wife, he said, "We were willing to give the idea of rejoicing full sway; the spirits of the Whigs must be kept up." Congress adjourned in order to dine together at the City Tavern. The armed vessels and guard boats on the Delaware were dressed in the colors of all nations, and in the afternoon the crews manned the rigging, and many salutes of thirteen guns were fired. The wharves were lined with great crowds of shouting people. A military parade followed. In the evening the windows of most of the houses were illuminated with candles, though, as John Adams remarked,

"a few surly houses were dark." The almost constant ringing of the bells, bonfires, and fireworks were the features of a celebration that led Adams to say, "Had General Howe been here in disguise, or his Master, the show would have given them the heartache."

Two years later. There had been many dark days for the infant nation, with a few successes. Yet the leaders of the people were not dismayed. On July 4, 1779, Washington wrote in his Journal:

"This being the anniversary of our glorious independence, will be commemorated by the firing of thirteen cannon from West Point at 1 o'clock P. M. The Commander in Chief thinks proper to grant pardon to all prisoners in the army, under sentence of death. They are to be released from confinement accordingly."

The Revolution ended, the celebration of Independence took on a different character; before it had been proof of faith and courage; it became the experience of joy in achievement, and confidence in the future. On the first anniversary after the declaration of peace, when Congress had gone to Princeton, New Jersey, where it met in old Nassau Hall, "the occasion was dignified for the first time by the appointment of an orator from each of the two literary societies." According to the author of the book *Princeton,* the fact was duly advertised in the paper, the day ending with a state dinner given at his headquarters by Mr. Boudinot, president of Congress. The day was always kept in open style by the tavern, and there was usually much burning of gunpowder, much imbibing of punch with finely patriotic sentiments, and much oratory around the village flag-pole, Witherspoon himself on one occasion delivering the address. Faculty and students ordinarily sat down together to a special dinner, the day

beginning with thirteen rounds fired from the moldering cannon on the campus.

One of the most significant of the early Independence Day orations was delivered in Boston in 1784, by Benjamin Hichborn, significant because it not only pleaded for a different attitude to former enemies, but because it spoke of the necessity for the seat of Federal Union desired by Washington and his associates. The expression of such sentiments only a year after the declaration of peace was remarkable. His sanity was shown by his introduction; he said it was necessary to abate "the careless ascription to our opponents in conflict of more base and unjustifiable motives in their conduct toward America than any other power ever exercised over their meanest dependents."

Then he expressed fear for the outcome of the plan for a federal government. "I find a show of reluctance at parting even with a shadow of that sovereignty and independence we have so dearly purchased. But when I consider that while we retain the sovereignty and independence, we must also experience the weakness and insignificancy of an individual state, I most cheerfully embrace the idea of a qualified federal government; and since we cannot expect in the most perfect of human institutions, a delegated power capable of answering any valuable purpose, which shall not be accompanied with some possible gain, we shall not suffer any ill-grounded jealousy to prevent the representatives of the United States from being provided with permanent revenues and the ultimate power of deciding in all questions of great national concerns."

He assured his hearers that the nation's only safety "lies in a firm union of the states; directed by the common

interest, and supplied by the continued force of the whole, we must be happy at home and respected abroad."

The wisdom of the orator was shown by his pleas for "hospitality to all mankind." "I am sensible," he said, "the calm of peace which has succeeded the raging storm of war has not yet altogether obliterated from our minds the memory of injuries we have suffered at the hands of a nation on whom we had a just claim for the most affectionate partiality. But when we recollect that . . . we have secured all our ancient rights and received many new ones, when we view ourselves as placed by our very enemies on a respectable seat among the nations of the earth, I think a softer passion than that of jealousy or resentment should fill the mind. . . . I am sensible these sentiments will not suit the political pretenses of those who have some practical ends to assure by keeping alive the embers of that malignant fever which has too long preyed upon the vitals of our tranquillity."

An oration of an entirely different, but salutary, kind was given in the same city, in 1785, by John Gardiner. After detailing the history of Greece and Rome, he came to the end of the struggle for Independence, and added words that sound as if they might have been spoken at the end of the Great War:

"Elated with success and blinded by prosperity, we too soon began to relax in our manners, and to adopt the luxury, the follies, the fashion of that nation, which so lately we had every reason to detest, and madly to enter into boundless import of her manufactures, in preference to those of our allies and friends. Dissipation and extravagance immediately pervaded all orders of our people, and so ridiculous were the transports of folly among us that even our country girls in their market carts, and upon

their panniered horses, rode through our streets with their heads decked with the plumes of the ostrich, and the feathers of other exotic birds. Such a sudden depravity, such a rapid degeneracy of our manners, hath plunged us deep in debt and difficulty, stript us of our cash, and brought us into great Contempt."

Then came the appeal:

"Americans! approve yourselves men of wisdom, as you have convinced the whole world that you are men of valour! Let me entreat, let me conjure you, my countrymen, by your religion, as you love your liberty, your wives, and your posterity, to shake off immediately . . . the destructive vices so unworthy of yourselves, the dignity of your country and the glory of your great forefathers! Let the great and the opulent, from this auspicious day, set the bright example of true frugality and of strict economy. Banish luxury, invest your great amphictyonick council, your Congress, with full but specified power, to regulate your trade, and all the important . . . concerns of your young rising Empire, and all, yes all, will be well. Our Commerce, Manufactures, arts, and glory then will soon increase. . . . If we make a right use of our natural advantages, we soon must be a truly great and happy people. . . . Every article of commerce, and almost every article of luxury, now imported from abroad, may be purchased in one part or another of this very great, wide, extended Empire."

Eventually the Independence Day orations at Boston were to be, unconsciously, in a sort of series. At any rate, the message given by Jonathan Austin seemed almost an answer, or at least a correction, of that given the preceding year. He pleaded for commerce, but he said that the

country's interests called for the use of the funds secured thereby not for trifles, but things to enrich the country:

"Now if ever is the time to keep a more than ordinary watch over our manners, to encourage industry, frugality and oeconomy, and to choke that subtle secret poison, which lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure. The eyes of Europe are upon us. Our enemies view us with jealousy, and watch our smallest operation; while our friends, with pleasure seated on their countenances, rejoice at our national happiness. Whether our foes shall congratulate each other on our fall, or our friends rejoice at our prosperity, depends on our union, virtue, and patriotism."

On the following Fourth of July the convention assembled to review the Articles of Confederation was in session at Philadelphia, beginning the work that was to show the world America's "union, virtue and patriotism." Washington, the president of the Convention, tells how, the Assembly being adjourned for the purpose, he went to hear an oration on the Anniversary of Independence, delivered by Mr. Mitchell, a student of law. (The *Pennsylvania Journal* said that the orator was James Campbell.) Later he dined with the State Society of the Cincinnati at Eppler's Tavern, and drank tea at Mr. Powell's.

The completion of the Constitution and its adoption by ten of the states was celebrated on July 4, 1788, by "a great federal procession." This was the most ambitious celebration of the day yet attempted, as was indicated by the reports in the newspapers.

The dawn of the festal day was greeted by "a full peal from Christ Church steeple and a discharge of cannon from the ship *Rising Sun,* which was anchored off Market

Street." "Ten vessels, in honor of the ten states of the Union, were dressed and arrayed thro' the whole length of the harbor," the account continued. Each ship flew at the masthead a white flag on which was the name of the state represented.

But the great procession was the event of the day. This was made up of eighty-eight distinct floats. First came twelve ax-men dressed in white frocks, with black girdles. Then there were, at intervals, companies of the City Troop, horsemen who bore banners, with the dates of the original Day, of the coming of the French allies, of the definitive peace with Great Britain, and of the completion of the Constitution. Richard Bache, son-in-law of Benjamin Franklin, was on horseback, attended by a herald. He proclaimed the new era. The Constitution was represented by the Chief Justice and his associates, in their robes of office; they rode in a car in the form of an eagle drawn by six horses. Other United States and city officials followed. A citizen and an Indian chief were seated in a carriage, smoking together the columet of peace. The new federal edifice was represented by a float drawn by ten white horses, on which was a structure supported by thirteen Corinthian columns, the fringe being decorated with thirteen stars; ten of the columns were complete, while three were imperfect. The Federal ship *Union,* mounting twenty guns, thirty-three feet long, was built up from the barge which formerly belonged to the *Serapis,* the ship defeated by the *Bon Homme Richard* under Captain John Paul Jones. Foreign diplomats and representatives of the trades and professions completed the spectacular pageant.

In 1789 the Society of the Cincinnati were prominent in the celebration at New York City. Their chairman,

Baron Steuben, delivered an address. Then the society marched in procession, with a company of artillery and a band of music, to St. Paul's Chapel. There Alexander Hamilton made an oration in honor of General Nathanael Greene. The Cincinnati had special seats in the crowded church, and were conspicuous by reason of the American flag, as well as because of the eagles which they wore in their buttonholes.

The celebration of 1790 was on July 5, July 4 being on Sunday. Washington reported that the members of the Senate, of the House of Representatives, public officers, foreign characters, members of the Cincinnati, and officers of the militia came to him to give the compliments of the day. The reception was followed by an oration in St. Paul's Chapel. After the oration many gentlemen and ladies paid their respects to Mrs. Washington. The report of the day's events in the President's diary was followed by the statement that "The Traitor Arnold had been seen at Detroit."

This rather colorless account was supplemented in the diary of William Maclay, who said: "All the town was in arms . . . and the fire of cannon and small arms, with beating of drums, kept all in uproar. The motion (for the Senate to adjourn) was carried, and soon all of us repaired to the President's. We got some wine, punch, and cake. From here we went to St. Paul's, and heard the Anniversary of Independence pronounced, I could not hear him well. Some said it was fine. I could not contradict them. I was in the pew next to General Washington."

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, had the honor of entertaining the President on the festal day in 1791. He halted there, on invitation, while on his return from a Southern town. Again a reception, an oration, and drinking filled the day.

Dunlap's *American Advertiser,* in telling of the celebration of 1792 in Philadelphia, spoke of the day "which gave freedom to the world." Then, in rather oratorical language, it went on: "Bells and cannon but feebly proclaimed the sentiments of citizens who, conscious of the advantages which result from political and religious liberty, revere the return of that day, on which they emerged from the horrors of servitude to the blessings of Independence."

That newspapers were beginning to ape the language of the orator was apparent also when, in 1798, Clapoole's *American Daily Advertiser,* in speaking of the celebration at Alexandria, Virginia, said:

"Everything conspired to render the business of the day a varied scene of patriotism and social joy, and the dignified presence of the beloved Washington, our illustrious neighbor, gave such a high colouring to the *tout ensemble,* that nothing was wanting to complete the picture."

Washington's final celebration of the nation's birthday was in 1799, when the *Advertiser* noted with pleasure that "the Cincinnatus of America appeared in excellent health and spirits."

Thus the Fourth of July became a vital part of the nation's life many years before the placing on the regular calendar of that other festal day when gratitude fills the hearts of the people—Thanksgiving Day.

Yet there were many Thinksgiving Days more than two centuries before the anniversary became a fixture on the calendar. The first such day in American history was observed by the Popham Colony, which settled at Sagadahoc on the coast of Maine in August, 1607. An old record tells of the events and of the service by Chaplain Seymour:

"Sundaye being the 9th of August, in the morning the most part of our hole company of both our ships landed on the island the which we called St. George Island, where the cross standeth and thear we heard a sermon delyvered unto us by our preacher, giving God thanks for our happy metinge and safe arryvall into the country, and so returned aboard again."

But there is no record of a successor to the initial day at Popham. Gradually that colony disintegrated; its primacy passed to Plymouth, where, many times during the early years of the colony, a special Thanksgiving Day was proclaimed. The first of these, usually thought of as America's first observance of Thanksgiving, was proclaimed by Governor Bradford in December, 1621, in view of events described by him as follows:

"They began now to gather in ye small harvest they had, and to fit up their houses and dwellings against winter. Being all well recovered in health and strength and had all things in good plenty, for some were thus employed in affairs abroad, others were exercised in fishing about Codd and bass, and other fish of which they took good store, of which every family had their portion. All ye same, there was no waste. And now began to come in store of foule, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decased by degrees) and beside waterfoule there was great store of wilde Turkies, of which they took many beside venison, etc. Beside they had about a peck of meal a weeke to a person, or now, since harvest Indian corn to ye proportion."

On December 11, 1621, Edward Winslow told of preparations for the Thanksgiving feast:

"Our harvest being gotten in our governor sent 4 men

in fowling that so we might after a special manner rejoice together after we had gathered the fruits of our labor. They four killed as much fowl as with a little help beside served the company about a week. At which time, among other recreation, we exercised our arrows, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and amongst the rest their greatest king, Massasoyt with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted and they went out and killed four deer, which they brought and bestow'd on the governor."

The little company of fifty-five people, survivors of the hundred or more who landed from the *Mayflower,* thought they had much to be thankful for. Had they not reaped a harvest from twenty ears of corn? And did they not have the fruits of the pasture of six acres they had sowed to barley? To be sure, the pasture planted in peas had failed to bring a harvest. But what of that? Did they not have "all things in good plenty"?

A religious service was the chief feature of that first Thanksgiving. But feasting was not forgotten, either then or on the days which succeeded it. Fare may have been scant, but hearts were thankful. "It would have been a strange thing to see a piece of roast beef or mutton or veal," one of the Colonists wrote. Yet they could eat and be thankful. "Bread was so very scarce that sometimes I thought the very crusts of my father's table would be sweet to me," was the statement of another man, "and when I could have bread and water and salt boiled together, it was so good, who could wish better"? A good reason for Thanksgiving! For, as Governor Winthrop wrote, "We are enjoying God and Jesus Christ, and is that not enough? I thank God I like it so well to be here

I do not repent my coming—I never had more content of mind."

That spirit continued, during a number of Thanksgivings, through all sorts of hardships. In July, 1630, Bradford wrote to his wife, who was in England: "We are in a paradise. Though we have no beef and mutton, yet we need them not; our Indian corn answers for all." Even when the Indian corn gave out, and the new supplies expected from England were delayed, he did not grumble. The beginning of cold weather saw famine among the Colonists. And on February 22, 1631, Governor Winthrop had his last batch of meal in the oven when the ship so long overdue was seen approaching the harbor. Then came an impromptu day of Thanksgiving. No proclamation was necessary that day!

A quaint proclamation, issued by "a Court, holden at Boston, October 11th, 1633," called for a Thanksgiving on October 16:

"In regard to the many and extraordinary mercys wch the Lord hath been pleased to vouchsafe of late to this plantacon, vzs a plentifull harvest, ships safely arriued wth psons of spetiall vse and quallity, etc., it is ordered, that Wednesday the 16th day of this present moneth, shal be kept as a day of publique thanksgiuing through the seual plantacons. And where as it is found by comon experience that the keepeing of lectures att the ordinary howres nowe obserued in the fore-noone to be dyvers wayes pjudiciall to the comon good; both in the losse of a whole day and bringing othr charges & troubles to the place where the lecture is kept, it is therefore ordered that hereafter noe lecture shall begin before one a'clocke in the afternoone."

A later Massachusetts Thanksgiving Day, that of De-

cember 19, 1689, was proclaimed by the General Court in a document that sounds, in some respects, like a production of much later days:

"It having pleased the God of heaven to mitigate His many favors upon us in the summer past, with a mixture of some very signal favors, and in the midst of wrath so far to remember mercy that our harvests have not wholly failed, that our Indian enemies have had a check put upon their designs of blood and spoils, that others have not seen their designs accomplished upon us, and that we have much of hope of our God's yet adding more perfection to our deliverance. Inasmuch also as the Great God hath of late raised up such a defence to the Protestant Religion and Interest abroad in the world, especially in the happy accession of their majesties, our sovereign King William and Queen Mary to the throne. It is therefore ordered that Thursday, the nineteenth day of December instant, be kept as a day of Thanksgiving throughout the Colony, and all servile labor on that day is hereby inhibited, and the several ministers and assemblies are exhorted to observe the same in celebrating the just praises of Almighty God of whose tender mercies it is that we are not consumed."

When a Thanksgiving was proclaimed for the Province of Pennsylvania, to be held on July 25, 1746, special attention was paid to the necessity of keeping the day free from anything that might hinder its observance. It was requested "that the several ministers of the Gospel do compose prayers and service suitable to that Occasion, and perform Divine Service. . . ." Then came the provision for safeguarding the real purpose of the day:

"And that the said Day may be observed with a Solemnity becoming our Christian Profession, and not as has

been too often the Practice, with Drunkenness and other Kinds of Licentiousness, to the Dishonor of God, and to the Reproach of the Christian Name, I do hereby order that the Magistrates and other officers of Justice, be especially careful to punish all . . . Disorder whatsoever. And further, I do recommend to the People of the several Religious Perswasions . . . that they do abstain from all servile Labour on that Day."

In Boston, during the time of British occupation preceding the declaration of war, John Lathrop preached, on a day appointed for fasting and thanksgiving, a sermon which gave a dramatic picture of the city in the grip of its enemies. He declared his earnest hope that some wise and equitable plan of accommodation might take place, preventing war; that the rights and liberties of the Colonies might be established on a solid and immovable basis"; and that "the Town may emerge from its present distressed and most calamitous state, and be a more prosperous, more happy place than ever yet it has been."

The days of past joy were referred to feelingly:

"What joy have we felt to see the capacious and safe harbor, white with the canvas of our own ships, or of foreigners who came to exchange their treasures for the commodities we had to spare. But how affecting the change; how gloomy is the present appearance! Look at our port and you see it blockked with British Ships of War—No vessels of trade are allowed to enter the harbor —The well built wharves are either left naked, or lined with transports, which have been employed to bring the King's troops to this place. . . . Our public streets, our most pleasant walks, are filled with armed soldiers. The only avenue to the town by land is fortified on each side with heavy cannon, and strongly guarded day and night.

In short, all things wear the shocking appearance of war . . . of war between Great Britain and the Colonies! Between fellow subjects!! Between brethren!!!"

In like manner, a sermon preached at Plymouth, Massachusetts, December 22, 1774, the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, and a day appointed for thanksgiving, the speaker declared his deprecation of "contention with the parent state." "We are all ready to inquire with anxious hearts, 'Watchman, what of the night? Is there any good news from our mother country? Anything to raise the hopes of our own?' The honourable and much esteemed American Continental Congress, which we voluntarily constituted the guardians of our rights, have with good judgment and faithfulness, pointed us to a mode of conduct, from which, if religiously adhered to by ourselves, and followed with the divine blessing, we may entertain the strongest hopes."

The argument of the discourse was, "God led our forefathers; he will lead us."

The leading came; not to peace, but to war. During the progress of that war Washington twice called for days of fasting and thanksgiving. Congress resisted the appeal for such days, on the ground that it would be "aping European customs," the reference being to Queen Elizabeth's habit of calling for thanksgiving days on many occasions, especially after the destruction of the dreaded Spanish Armada.

One of the notable thanksgiving occasions of the war period was December 7, 1780, when Philadelphians were called on to offer prayers to God "to lead our forces by land and sea, to victory, to take our illustrious ally under his special protection, and favor our joint councils and

exertions for the establishment of speedy and enduring peace."

On December 11, 1783, which Congress appointed as a day of public thanksgiving throughout the United States, Dr. John Rodgers preached in New York. He began by reminding the people how "God has graciously and fully defeated the designs the Court of Britain had formed to deprive us of our liberties." Then he went on to say:

"We have, under the auspicies of this holy providence . . . taken our station among the nations and the empires of the earth, an event of such magnitude that it forms a new aera in the history of mankind."

In reviewing causes for thanksgiving the speaker told of "the good plan of calling proper men, by the several Colonies, to meet in Congress"; of "the military enthusiasm that seized our country, and sped like a rolling flame from colony to colony, bosom catching fire from bosom; of "the providing of a proper person to take the command of the American army: (how heaven-directed the choice of Congress in the matter!) of the fact that the enemy, in their contempt for the Colonists, had been led into "a system of conduct, ruinous to themselves, and at the same time most advantageous to us"; of the further fact that the first attack was made on the Eastern Colonies, instead of the Southern, since the capture of the South would have been easy; of the thought on the part of the British that a small army would be sufficient for conquest—a fallacy not made apparent until the Colonies had an opportunity to prepare themselves; and finally, of the enormous and accumulating debt, shaking national credit, which made Great Britain willing to listen to terms of pacification.

That sermon was a needed corrective of the vainglorious

attitude of some of the victorious Colonists—an attitude that was further rebuked by President Washington's first Thanksgiving Proclamation, setting apart Thursday, November 26, 1789, by a document which read, in part, as follows:

"Whereas it is the duty of all nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey His will, to be grateful for his benefits and humbly to implore His protection and favor. . . . Now, therefore I do recommend and assign Thursday the 26th day of November, next to be devoted by the people of these States to the services of that great and glorious Being who is the Beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be, that we may then all unite in rendering to Him our sincere and humble thanks for His kind care and protection of the people of this country previous to their becoming a nation, for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favorable interpositions of His providence in the course and conclusion of the late war, for the great degree of tranquility, union and plenty which we have since enjoyed, for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national one now lately instituted; for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and for the opportunity we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge, and in general for all the great and various favors which He has been pleased to confer upon us."

At the time of the Thanksgiving Day of 1789 the promise of the new government looked good, but the experiment of living under the new Constitution was looked on with apprehension by many sober leaders. But their fears proved groundless. By 1795 many of those

PROCLAIMING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, IN PHILADELPHIA

SAMUEL SEWALL, WHO OPPOSED CHRISTMAS DAY
(From the Painting Owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society)
(See page 345)

who had been doubters were ready to unite with the orator who spoke in the Third Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, on February 19, the day set apart by the President to be observed through the Union as a "Day of General Thanksgiving and Prayer."

The theme of the speaker was The Existence and Success of the Federal Government. He began by telling of the situation that confronted the Colonies after the war. "Public credit was expiring, general activity languished, the resources of the nation were inactive and unexplored, the soldier was defrauded of the dear-bought reward of his danger and his toils, the faithful patriot who had sacrificed his possessions to the liberty of his country was oppressed with debt, and foreigners who, through admiration of our heroism, had been led to trust our integrity, were beginning to turn their admiration into contempt."

All these things were natural results of the inadequate Articles of Confederation, framed in 1778 by "illustrious men who were deceived by that noble enthusiasm which they felt in their own souls; they were deceived by that elevated sublime virtue which was displayed at that time by the whole mass of the people." . . . So "they formed a system of government adapted only to patriots, and heroes—a government that did not contemplate those urgent and selfish principles which take possession of the human heart in the ordinary state of society, and which cannot be made to bend to the public good but by the force of the laws; hence resulted the imbecility of our former federation, and the numerous evils which were growing upon us apace under a system that was chiefly advisory, and that had not within itself sufficient springs of action, nor the power of compulsion."

But what a change took place when the Constitutional

Convention handled the problem! Jarring interests were compromised; jealousies were allayed; powers were vested in the government; the right and extent of taxation were cared for; the executive was established; the judiciary was organized; equal representation was given to the people, yet the sovereignty of the state was preserved, in the law-making bodies. These wonderful things were provided for in the Federal Constitution, under which the first President took office. And the government so begun, had been succeeding. Then were there not reasons for thanksgiving?

Thanksgiving Day has held its honored place in the hearts of the people because of its appeal to all that is best in the hearts of those who make the nation. But the holiday that follows Thanksgiving did not have, in all parts of the country, such an easy path. The stern and rigorous Puritans, for instance, looked upon Christmas Day as something to be avoided. There must be no observance of it in the young Plymouth Colony was the determination of Governor Bradford and his associates. It was a relic of popery and it could not be tolerated.

This attitude led Bradford to write indignantly concerning some newcomers who would not fall in with his ideas on Christmas Day, 1621:

"On the day called Christmas-day, the Govr caled them out to work, (as was used), but the master of the new Company excused them selves and said it wente against their conscience to work on that Day. So the Govr tould them that if they made it mater of Conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led away the rest, and left them; but when they came home at noone from their work he found them in the streete at play, openly; some pitching the barr, and some at stoolball and

shuch like sports. So he went to them, and tooke away their implements, and tould them it was against his conscience, that they should play and others work. If they made the keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their house, but there should be no gameing or revelling in ye streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly."

Governor Bradford's idea persisted. In 1657 the General Court of Massachusetts provided a penalty of five shillings for each offender against the laws as to Christmas. The prohibition was quite inclusive; it forbade the observance of "any such day as Christmas, or the like, either by forbearing of labor, feasting, or any other way."

While the law was repealed in 1681, the feeling against the day persisted. The diary of Judge Sewall was not begun until after the repeal, but his hatred of the Christmas idea was as violent as if the law was still on the statute books, and he was the one man set to enforce it. On nearly every December 25 he made a point of putting on record some reference to the failure to regard the day—in fact, he seemed to take a fiendish delight in noting the fact that Christmas observance was not making headway in Boston. For instance, in 1685, he told how "Carts came to Town and Shops open as is usual." Then he added, "Some somehow observe the day; but are vexed I believe that the Body of the People profane it; and blessed be God; no authority yet to compell them to keep it."

So in later years. 1686: "Shops open to-day generally." —1694: "Shops are open, men at work, Carts of Pork, Hay, Coal, Wood came to Town as on other days."—1711: "On way back [from Brookline] we had much ado to get along for the Multitude of sleds coming to

Town with Wood and returning."—1729, his final Christmas Day: "Shops are open. Hay, Hoop-poles, Wood, Faggots, Charcoal, Meal, brought to Town."

Gradually the day came into its own, even in Massachusetts. Yet as late as 1771 Anna Green Winslow, ten-year-old schoolgirl from Nova Scotia, so imbibed notions from her Boston Puritan aunt that she wrote in her diary on December 24: "As to-morrow will be a holiday, so the pope and his associates have ordered . . ." Yet the spirit of the child was irrepressible. Three days later she wrote: "I keept Christmas at home this year."

In Connecticut, likewise, there was long a bar to Christmas keeping, though in time the closing holiday of the year came into its own. But in New York the day was observed with enthusiasm, from the beginning of the Colony. The Dutch emigrants brought from Holland their devotion to St. Nicholas. His figure, it is said, was the figurehead on the ship that brought the first Colonists to the new land. Business was suspended, not only on the day itself, but for several days, house and church were trimmed with evergreens, and the children were told marvelous tales of St. Nicholas and his reindeer, and the journeys down the chimney to bring gifts to good boys and girls.

There is a significant minute on the books of the City Corporation, dated December 14, 1654: "As the winter and the holiday, are at hand, there shall be no more ordinary meetings of the Board between this date and three weeks after Christmas. The Court Messenger is ordered not to summon again the members."

Rhode Island, in time, and Pennsylvania also, when its population became more mixed, provided hospitable treat-

ment for the children's holiday. A pleasant story of early days in that Colony is told of the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem and the manner of gaining its name. On Christmas Eve, Count Zinzendorf celebrated the Holy Communion in the one unfinished building, where the cattle were kept in a portion of the structure partitioned off for them. This it was that suggested the name Bethlehem. As Bishop Levering has told the story:

"This humble sanctuary, with beasts of the stall sharing its roof, brought the circumstances of the Saviour's birth vividly before their imagination. . . . Acting upon an impulse the Count rose and led the way into the part of the building in which the cattle were kept, while he began to sing the quaintly pretty words of a German Epiphany hymn which combined Christian thoughts and missionary thoughts. . . . Its language expressed well the feeling of the hour. . . . The little town of Bethlehem was hailed, its boon to mankind was lauded. . . . With the episode a thought came to one and another which gave rise to a perpetual memorial of the occasion. . . . By general consent the name of the ancient town of David was adopted and the place was called Bethlehem."

It was in Virginia, however, that both the religious and the social observance of Christmas were at the height. The Colonists who came to Jamestown had a background of social life that was just as positively in favor of Christmas as that of the founders of Plymouth was against it. So their hospitable homes were opened on the glad day—in fact, for many days; house parties were common in the Old Dominion more than two centuries ago. Churches were decorated, services were held, gifts were exchanged, and there was general good cheer for everyone, from the

head of the house to the slave in the cabin, from the children at the mansion to the pickaninnies in the humble shelters of the black retainers. Of course the central feature of the day was the table bountifully spread for the feast of which the best description is given by Washington Irving in The Old Christmas Dinner. What if he was writing of old England? The picture was true to the life of Virginia, from the entry of the butler with a servant on each side, bearing a silver dish, on which was an enormous pig's head, decorated with rosemary, with a lemon in its mouth, to his final entry with the wassail bowl.

When George Washington lived in Philadelphia, he proved a good advance agent for the day in which he had delighted when at his Mount Vernon home. His diaries tell of several of his Christmas days. Once he wrote to Robert Morris: "Mrs. Washington and myself and family will have the honor of dining with you in the way proposed to-morrow, being Christmas day." And on Christmas Eve, 1795, the President entertained at dinner the Vice-President, Senators, and others, about twenty in all. Details of the feast were left for posterity by one of the guests, Theophilus Bradbury, who wrote to his daughter:

"In the middle of the table was placed a piece of table furniture about six feet long, and two feet wide, rounded at the ends. It was either of wood gilded, or polished metal, raised only about an inch, with a silver rim round it, like that round a teaboard; in the centre was a pedestal of plaster of Paris with images upon it, and upon each end figures, male and female, of the same. It was very elegant, and used for ornament only. The dishes were placed all around, and there was an elegant variety of roast beef, veal, turkey, ducks, fowls, hams, &c, puddings, jellies,

oranges, apples, nuts, almonds, figs, raisins, and a variety of wines and punches. We took our leave at six, more than an hour after the candles were introduced. No lady but Mrs. Washington dined with us. We were waited on by four or five men servants dressed in livery."

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